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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO 1839.

BY

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AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF GREECE," "HISTORY OF ROME,"
"OUTLINES OF HISTORY," &c.

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CHAPTER VIII.

RICHARD II. (OF BORDEAUX.)*

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RICHARD was only in his eleventh year when the death of his grandfather placed him on the throne of England. The principle of representation was now so fully established, and the memory of his father was so dear to the nation, that the slightest opposition to his succession was not to be apprehended. He was crowned with great solemnity on the 16th of July, at Westminster. The following day a council of regency was appointed; the Duke of Lancaster, contrary to expectation, offering no opposition. The war with France and Castile, which still continued, made it necessary to convene a parliament; and its pro-

* Authorities: Walsingham, Knighton, and Froissart.

ceedings show clearly the influence which the commons were gradually acquiring.*

The events of the war with France at this time offer little to interest; for Charles the Wise was too prudent a man to put anything at hazard. It, however, brought on expense; and the king was obliged to apply to his parliament for supplies. Instead of the old mode of granting tenths and fifteenths, it was resolved to have recourse to the new expedient of a poll-tax of three groats a head for every person, male and female, of fifteen years and upward; but, to ease the poor, it was directed that the aggregate sum in particular places should be so apportioned as to be levied at from one to sixty groats, according to the substance of the parties. The levying of this tax, however, gave occasion to a dangerous insurrection of the people in 1381.

For centuries the condition of the inferior ranks of the people, throughout the greater part of Europe, had been that of villanage or predial bondage, somewhat similar to what prevails at the present day in Russia.† But knowledge had been secretly shedding its light even on the low places of society; the equal and beneficent spirit which the Gospel breathes had imperceptibly penetrated all ranks; kings and nobles had been gradually emancipating their serfs; the clergy, who were mostly of plebeian origin themselves, as judges in the courts of law and equity, favoured emancipation, and, as religious teachers, frequently dwelt on the equality of all portions of a sinful race in the eyes of a just and beneficent Deity.

* See the particulars in Lingard and in Hallam (Middle Ages, p. 384, *et seq.*, Harpers' edition).

† It is only by considering the brutishly degraded condition of the great mass of the people throughout Europe at this time, and for centuries after, and contrasting with it their present improved condition, that we can duly estimate the progress of modern civilization. Much as remains to be done to complete the reforms yet needed, such a comparative view is full of promise, that, under every discouragement, the good work will go on, until the great principles of civil and religious freedom shall be universally acknowledged and established.—*Am. Ed.*

The extent of commerce, and the consequent wealth of the inhabitants of towns, and their importance in the eyes of monarchs and nobles, had given a kind of elevation to all parts of the commonalty; and even the rude serfs of the country felt their natural rights, and panted, beneath the oppression of their lords, after a state of freedom for which they were not, perhaps, yet fully qualified. This general fermentation had, in 1357, broken out in the atrocities of the *Jacquerie* in France; and it now, in 1381, exhibited itself, though in a less appalling form, in England, where, since the Norman Conquest, the condition of the inferior classes had gradually deteriorated, and the descendants of the free Saxon ceorles had nearly sunk to the abject state of the serfs of the Continent.

The collection of the poll-tax was first resisted in Essex, where the people rose under the guidance of a priest, who assumed the name of Jack Straw. At Dartford, in Kent, one of the collectors demanded the tax for a young girl, the daughter of a tyler. Her mother asserting that she was under fifteen, the brutal collector laid hold of the girl, and was proceeding to treat her with the greatest indignity, when her father came in from his work, and, raising the implement which he happened to have in his hand, struck the collector dead at a blow. His neighbours applauded and vowed to stand by him; and the surrounding villages soon joined in the common cause. The whole of Kent speedily rose. At Maidstone the people forced the archbishop's prison, and liberated a priest named John Ball, who was confined in it, for preaching against the wealth and corruption of the church. Wat the Tyler was now their acknowledged leader; and they were joined by the Essex insurgents under Jack Straw. They advanced towards London; and at Blackheath, on the 10th of June, their tumultuary bands had swollen, it is said, to the number of one hundred thousand men. Here Ball, taking for his text the following rhymes, then highly popular among them,

“ When Adam dalf [delved] and Evè span,
Who was then the gentleman ? ”

preached on the natural equality of man ; and declared that the archbishop, the earls, barons, judges, lawyers, etc., must be all destroyed, and all ranks abolished, and that then alone all would be equally free and noble. The multitude loudly applauded ; and vowed that Ball himself should be Archbishop of Canterbury and lord chancellor.* The insurrection rapidly spread through the eastern counties. The insurgents pillaged the houses of the gentry, burned the court-rolls, and cut off the head of every justice, lawyer, and juror that fell into their hands.†

While the insurgents lay at Blackheath, on the 11th of June, the king's mother had to pass through them on her return from a pilgrimage to Canterbury. By her address and a few kisses bestowed on the leaders, she passed uninjured ; and then proceeded to join her son in the Tower. Next morning the king went down in his barge to receive the petitions of the insurgents, who were now at Rotherhithe ; but they set up such shouts and cries when he appeared, that his attendants, fearing for his safety, carried him back to the Tower. Tyler then led his men into Southwark, where they broke open the Marshalsea and King's Bench, and liberated the prisoners ; they also destroyed the furniture and burned the records in the episcopal palace at Lambeth.

Next morning, the 13th, the insurgents passed London bridge and entered the city, where they were joined by the populace. After regaling themselves at the cost of the wealthy citizens, they commenced their devastations. Newgate was speedily broken open, and its inmates were set at liberty ; the Duke of Lancaster's splendid palace, the Savoy, was plundered and destroyed ; the Temple, with all the books and records

* The primate was chancellor at this time. It is amusing to observe how men cannot divest themselves of their original ideas : while vowing to abolish all ranks and offices, they talked of conferring the highest on their leaders.

† See Appendix (A).

it contained, was burned. Strict orders were given that no man should keep any part of the plunder; and one man, who had concealed a silver cup in his bosom, was flung with it into the Thames. The plate which they seized was cut into small pieces, and the precious stones were beaten to powder. "With whom holdest thou?" was the question put to every one whom they met; and if he did not reply, "With King Richard and the Commons," his head was struck off. They also made people swear to admit no king "who was called John," alluding to the Duke of Lancaster. The Flemings were the chief objects of their vengeance: they dragged them even out of the churches and beheaded them. So passed this day. The next morning their multitudes covered Tower Hill, loudly demanding the heads of the chancellor and the treasurer. A herald then made proclamation for them to retire to Mile-end, where the king would meet them, and grant their demands. The ground was soon cleared; the gates were opened; the young monarch issued with a small train, and rode to Mile-end, followed by sixty thousand of the multitude. Their demands were: the abolition of slavery; liberty to buy and sell in market-towns without toll or custom; a fixed rent of fourpence the acre for land, instead of the services of villanage; and a general pardon. These terms were at once acceded to; and thirty clerks were employed during the night in making copies of the charter which was granted. The multitude, who were mostly men of Herts and Essex, then returned to their homes, bearing the royal banner.

While the king was at Mile-end, Tyler had burst, with four hundred of his men, into the Tower, and murdered the archbishop, the treasurer, and some other obnoxious persons. They forced their way into the apartment of the princess, and even probed her bed with their swords, to ascertain whether any one was concealed in it. She fainted, and was conveyed by her attendants over the river, where she was joined soon after by her son.

The king next morning rode into the city with a

train of but sixty horsemen. As he was crossing Smithfield, he met Tyler at the head of twenty thousand men; who, making a sign to them to halt, rode boldly up to the king to confer with him. Tyler was observed, as they spoke, to play, as it were, with his dagger; and he then laid hold of the king's bridle. William Walworth, the lord mayor, instantly drew a short sword and stabbed him in the throat: he rode back a few paces and fell; and Standish, one of the king's esquires, despatched him. The insurgents bent their bows to avenge him; when the king, with wonderful presence of mind, galloped up to them, crying, "What are ye about, my lieges? Tyler was a traitor. Come with me, I will be your leader." They followed him to Islington, whither Sir Robert Knowles soon came with a body of one thousand horse, to protect the king. They fell on their knees, suing for mercy. Some were for falling on and slaughtering them; but the king steadily refused his consent, and directed them to return to their homes in peace.

The nobility and gentry, who, in their terror, had at first shut themselves up in their houses and castles, now took courage and repaired to the king; who, finding himself at the head of forty thousand men, in compliance with the desires of these lords (whose conduct justifies the severe remark of a modern historian,* that "the masters of slaves on such occasions seem anxious to prove that they are not of a race superior in any moral quality to the meanest of their bondmen"), issued a proclamation on the 2d of July, revoking all the charters he had granted. The hangman was instantly set to work: Ball, Straw, and about fifteen hundred others were executed. Straw, it is said, confessed, before his execution, that their intention had been to massacre all the possessioners, that is, beneficed clergy, and to leave none but the mendicant friars, who would suffice for all the purposes of religion.†

* Mackintosh, i., 266, Harpers' ed.

† We must recollect that all these details are furnished by Walsingham and Knighton: two inveterate enemies of the insurgents.

The energy and presence of mind shown by a youth of but sixteen on this occasion, gave great hopes of the king; and his marriage the following year, 1382, with the daughter of the King of Bohemia, a lady of such eminent goodness and virtue that she was long remembered under the name of the "good Queen Anne," helped to augment the pleasing illusion. But the defects of the king's own character, and the ambition of his uncles, gradually dispelled the hopes that were entertained of a prosperous reign.

In the year 1384, when the Duke of Lancaster was on his return from an expedition into Scotland, the charges of disloyalty, which had been more than once made against him, were renewed; and a Carmelite friar put into the king's hands written proofs of a real or pretended conspiracy to place him on the throne. Lancaster swore it was false; and offered to prove his innocence by wager of battle. The friar was given in custody to Sir John Holland, the king's half-brother; and, on the morning when he was to be produced, he was found hanging dead in his chamber. Some accused his keeper of the deed, others said it was his own act. The Lord Zouch, whom the friar had named as the author of the memorial, denied all knowledge of it. Lancaster went over to France; and, on his return, shut himself up in his castle of Pontefract, till the king's mother brought about a reconciliation. This was followed by an expedition into Scotland: for, as the Scots, aided by a body of French auxiliaries, had crossed the borders, the king entered Scotland with eighty thousand men, and laid it waste.

During this expedition, the king made his uncles, the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, dukes of York and Gloucester; and Henry, son of the Duke of Lancaster, and Edward, son to the Duke of York, earls of Derby and Rutland. On the other hand, he created his favourite, Robert Vere earl of Oxford, marquis of Dublin; and granted him the revenues of Ireland for life, on condition of his paying 5000 marks (\$16,000) a year into the exchequer: while Michael de la Pole, the son of a London merchant, whom he had made

chancellor, was created Earl of Suffolk. At the same time, Roger earl of March, grandson of Lionel duke of Clarence, was declared heir-presumptive to the crown. The affairs of the Spanish peninsula (where the Duke of Lancaster claimed the crown of Castile in right of his wife*) calling him over to that country, Richard willingly consented to his departure, and gave him one half of the supply voted for the year by parliament.

But the king soon had reason to regret the absence of the Duke of Lancaster; for Gloucester, a man of strong passions and great ambition, fomented the animosity of the nobility against the favourites; and, when a parliament met in 1386, on account of a menaced invasion from France, both lords and commons united in a petition for the removal of the ministers. Richard, having vainly tried to rouse the citizens of London, retired to his palace at Eltham. The parliament sent, urging their petition: he insolently replied, that he would not, at their desire, remove the meanest scullion in his kitchen. He was, however, obliged to give way and dismiss his ministers, stipulating that none of them but Suffolk should be molested. This nobleman was forthwith impeached by the commons.† On most of the charges he was acquitted: on others he was found guilty; and he was sentenced to pay various sums, and to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. It was now proposed to go a step farther; and, as had been done in the times of John, his son, and Edward II., to establish a council for the reformation of the state. Richard steadily refused to part with his power, and threatened to dissolve the parliament. The commons, to terrify him, directed the act of deposition of Edward II. to be produced. At length the king was assured, that, if he continued obstinate, the lords and commons would separate, and leave him

* Lancaster and his brother, the Earl of Cambridge, married the two daughters and co-heiresses of Peter the Cruel.

† This is the second instance of the impeachment of a minister by the commons. (See p. 298, vol. i.) It was of far more importance than the former.

to himself. He then gave way; and agreed to appoint a commission of fourteen prelates and peers, to regulate the affairs of the kingdom for twelve months. The Duke of Gloucester was at the head of the commission, and nearly all the members of it were his creatures. At the end of the session, on the 28th of November, Richard made a solemn and open protest against anything done in that parliament to the prejudice of the rights of the crown.

Richard, who was certainly a prince of spirit, could hardly be expected to submit tamely to this virtual deposition. Having vainly tried, in 1387, to induce the sheriffs of counties to influence the next elections in his favour, he assembled the principal judges at Nottingham on the 25th of August, and put several queries to them respecting the legality of the late commission. They pronounced it to be illegal, and those concerned in procuring it to be traitors. They set their seals to this answer, and swore to keep it secret. The very next day, however, one of them betrayed it to the king's brother, the Earl of Kent, by whom the intelligence was conveyed to the Duke of Gloucester.

The commission being to terminate on the 19th of November, the king entered London on the 10th, to be ready to resume his authority; and he had arranged measures for taking vengeance on those who were obnoxious to him. But the next day he learned, to his consternation, that Gloucester and some other lords were near Highgate, at the head of forty thousand men. Resistance was not to be thought of. The five leaders, Gloucester, his nephew Derby, Fitzalan earl of Arundel, Mowbray earl of Nottingham, and Beauchamp earl of Warwick, came before the king in Westminster Hall on the 17th, and *appealed* (*i. e.*, accused) of treason the Archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, as Vere now was styled, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, the chief-justice, and Sir Nicholas Bramber, late lord-mayor of London; and, casting their gauntlets on the floor, offered to prove the charges by single combat. Richard replied that he would summon

a parliament, in which justice should be done ; and he and the appellants parted apparently on friendly terms.

The five accused persons, knowing their destruction to be otherwise inevitable, sought to save themselves by flight. Suffolk got over to France, where he died soon after ; the archbishop concealed himself near Newcastle, Tresilian in London, and Bramber was taken. The Duke of Ireland retired to Cheshire ; and having, by direction of the king, raised a body of men, advanced towards London ; but he was met and baffled at Radcot Bridge by the forces led by Gloucester and Derby ; and he fled first to Ireland, and then to the Low Countries, where he died. When Gloucester returned to London, a parliament met in 1388, and the impeachments were proceeded with. Tresilian, who had concealed himself in the house of an apothecary opposite the palace, was betrayed by a servant ; and that very evening he was executed at Tyburn. The next day Bramber shared his fate. The judges who had answered the king's questions were then condemned to death. Their lives, however, were spared at the intercession of the bishops ; but they were banished for life to different cities of Ireland. The same was the fate of the Bishop of Chichester, the king's confessor. Sir Simon Burley, Sir John Beauchamp, Sir James Berners, and Sir John Salisbury, were next impeached, as aiders of the aforesaid traitors ; and all were executed. Burley had been appointed by the Black Prince governor to his son, whose marriage also he had negotiated. Richard entreated Gloucester in his favour ; but he was told to leave him to his fate if he wished to keep his crown. The queen fell on her knees before the tyrant, and supplicated in vain : even Derby could not move his ruthless resolve. The only favour shown was the change of hanging for decapitation.* The work of blood being ended, the Wonderful (or, as others called it, the Merciless) Parliament was dissolved on the 3d of June.†

* The reversal of Burley's sentence in the following reign proves its injustice.

† In this year, Aug. 9, the battle of Otterburne, celebrated in the ballads, was fought between the Percies and Douglas.

Gloucester and his party held the reins of government for nearly twelve months longer ; but their power was gradually crumbling away ; and, by a bold effort, the king at once overthrew it. At a great council, holden after Easter, 1389, he turned suddenly to the Duke of Gloucester, and asked him how old he was. "Your highness," he replied, "is in your twenty-second year." "Then," said the king, "I must surely be old enough to manage my own affairs. I have been longer under tutors than any wards in my dominions. I thank you, my lords, for your past services, but require them no longer." No opposition was attempted : he appointed a new chancellor and treasurer ; and a proclamation informed the people that he had resumed the government.

During eight years the king ruled without opposition. He seemed perfectly reconciled to his uncles and their friends ; and, what was very remarkable in those times, he remitted to his subjects some subsidies which had been granted to him. On the death of the good Queen Anne, in 1394, he was induced to seek to divert his melancholy by visiting Ireland, where, since the weakening of the English power by the invasion of Edward Bruce, the native tribes had greatly encroached on the British settlers, and many of these last had abandoned their own laws and language for those of the Irish. He landed at Waterford with four thousand men-at-arms and thirty thousand archers, a force not to be resisted ; and thence marched to Dublin. All the native chiefs and degenerate English submitted, and were received to favour. Grievances were redressed, and oppressive officers removed. He then returned to London, and concluded a truce for twenty-five years with the King of France. Early in the next year, 1396, he was married to Isabella, the daughter of that monarch, a child only in her eighth year ; and, in the following month of January, the infant queen was crowned at Westminster.

This treaty and marriage were vehemently reprobated by the Duke of Gloucester ; who, dilating on the glories of the late reign, spoke sneeringly of the luxury

and inactivity of the present. He had never cordially cultivated the good-will of the king, who, for his part, had never forgiven his former conduct. With his two other uncles and their sons, Richard was now on the best terms. York had never offended him, and age had chilled the fire of Lancaster. The king had likewise lately obliged him, by legitimating his offspring by Catharine Swynford (the widow of a knight whom his duchess had employed to educate her children), and who, during the life of the duchess, had borne him three sons and a daughter.* The eldest of these children was created Earl of Somerset; but it was expressly stated in the act of legitimation, that they were to have no claim to the crown. Richard therefore felt himself strong enough, in 1397, to take his long-projected vengeance on Gloucester. He went himself in person, on the 12th of July, to the duke's castle at Pleshy. Gloucester and his family came out to receive him; when the king directed the earl-marshal, Nottingham, to arrest him and convey him to the Tower. But, when they reached the Thames on their way, the earl hurried his prisoner on board of a vessel which lay ready, and conveyed him to Calais, of which place he was governor. The earls of Arundel and Warwick were arrested in the same treacherous manner, and confined in different castles. To quiet the people, proclamation was made that all had been done with the assent of the dukes of Lancaster and York, their sons and other nobles. At Nottingham, a few days after, the king made some of these noblemen *appeal* the duke and his two friends of treason; and, in about three weeks, Sir William Rickhill, one of the justices of the Common Pleas, was called up in the middle of the night, and ordered to repair instantly to Calais. On his arrival there, a commission was given him to interrogate the Duke of Gloucester, whom he had supposed to be dead; a report to that effect having been spread. He used the precaution of having two witnesses present at his interview with the

* They were named Beaufort, from a castle of that name in France, where they were born.

duke, and he advised him to give his answer in writing, and to keep a copy. Gloucester gave him what he called his confession, and bade him return in the morning; but Rickhill was not permitted to see him any more.

Richard had, in the mean time, on the 17th of September, returned with a strong force to London. The sheriffs had taken care to have a parliament, such as he required, returned. All pardons granted to the accused were revoked. They were *appealed* of having forced the king to assent to the commission of regency in 1387, and for their subsequent acts. Arundel pleaded both a general and a special pardon; but his defence was not admitted; and he was condemned and beheaded that very day. Warwick was also condemned to death; but the sentence was commuted to exile in the Isle of Man; the primate, Arundel's brother, was banished; Lord Cobham was exiled to Jersey; and Lord Mortimer, who had taken refuge with the native Irish, was outlawed. Orders had been sent to the earl-marshal to bring over the Duke of Gloucester, to answer the charges made against him. His answer came, that he could not do so, as the duke had died in prison. The lords-appellant demanded judgment, and the commons petitioned to the same effect: the duke was then declared a traitor, and his property confiscated. Next day his confession, which had been taken by Sir William Rickhill, was read in parliament.

The very opportune death of the duke is certainly somewhat mysterious; such deaths in those times being rarely natural. It was never supposed that he destroyed himself: Froissart was told that he was strangled. Hall, a servant of the governor, made confession, in the next reign, that he was present when the duke was smothered between two beds; and, though doubt has been thrown on these accounts, the probability, we might perhaps say the certainty, still is, that the duke was murdered by order of the king his nephew.

Having thus gratified his vengeance in violation of all law and justice, the king proceeded to secure him-

self, for the future, in the exercise of his power. To attach the princes, he made his cousins Derby and Rutland dukes of Hereford and Albemarle, and his brothers Kent and Huntingdon dukes of Surrey and Exeter; Nottingham was created Duke of Norfolk; Somerset Marquis of Dorset; the lords of Despenser, Neville, Percy, and William Scroop, earls of Gloucester, Westmoreland, Worcester, and Wiltshire. To give the greater security to all concerned in the late proceedings, the peers and commons were made to swear, at the end of the session, to maintain all the acts of the present parliament. A subsidy on wool was granted to the king for life. A standing commission of twelve peers and six commoners was then appointed, who were to exercise all the powers of the legislature. "The king now," says Froissart, "began to rule more fiercely than before." He maintained a force of ten thousand archers; none, high or low, dared to oppose his will; his ministers and favourites encouraged him in all his excesses; and he passed his days in feasting and revelry, and in the enjoyment of low and trivial pleasures. The people murmured at the proceedings of the late parliament; and many of the nobles, when they calmly reviewed the dissimulation and treachery of the king in the case of his uncle, and the contempt of law and justice which he had exhibited in that affair, felt rather uncertain of their own safety.

Of the lords-appellant, in the tenth year of the king, 1387, Hereford and Norfolk alone remained. In the month of December, the latter overtook the former on the road from Brentford to London; and, as they rode along, he said to him (as reported by Hereford), "We are like to be undone." "For what?" "For the affair of Radcotbridge." "How can that be, since he has pardoned us?" "Nevertheless, our fate will be like that of others before us: he will annul the record." Norfolk then proceeded to declare, that, to his knowledge, Surrey, Wiltshire, and Salisbury were sworn to destroy them and some others; and added, **that he could not trust the king's oath.** This conver-

sation, it is easy to conceive how, reached the ears of the king. He sent for Hereford, and charged him, on his allegiance, to repeat it before the council. On the opening of the next parliament, on the 30th of January, 1398, Hereford, who had already obtained a full pardon, appeared as the prosecutor of Norfolk. This nobleman, who had not attended parliament, surrendered on proclamation; and, before the king at Oswaldstre, he denied the charge, and denounced the accuser as a liar and a false traitor. Richard ordered them both into custody; and, as no witnesses could be produced, it was determined, by a court of chivalry held at Windsor, that the decision should be left to the judgment of God, by wager of battle, at Coventry, on the 16th of September. On that day the combatants appeared in the lists, in the presence of the king, the committee of parliament, and a great multitude of the people. The lances were in rest, and the combat was about to begin, when the king flung down his warder [or truncheon], and forbade the battle. The two dukes retired to their seats, while the king engaged in consultation. At length the royal pleasure was announced. To prevent future quarrels, the Duke of Hereford was to quit the kingdom, and remain ten years in exile; Norfolk was to remain in exile for life in Germany, Hungary, or Bohemia, and to go as a pilgrim to the Holy Land; and his lands were to be taken into the king's hands, to pay his debts to the crown, £1000 (\$4800) a year being reserved to him. As a favour, both were allowed to appoint attorneys, to receive any inheritances that might fall to them during their exile. Hereford went to France, Norfolk visited the Holy Land, and on his return died of a broken heart at Venice.

Richard was now, in fact, an absolute monarch: he had oppressed or terrified all his opponents; the subsidy granted for life relieved him from the necessity of meeting his parliaments, while the standing committee was ready to make any ordinances he pleased. But his exalted position was unstable. He had irretrievably lost the affections of the people by forced

loans and other acts of oppression, and circumstances soon led them to turn their thoughts to his cousin Henry, the banished Duke of Hereford. On the death of his father in 1399, Henry at once assumed the title of Duke of Lancaster; but, when he claimed the estates. Richard, asserting that exile, like outlawry, rendered incapable of inheriting property, seized them to his own use; and the council pronounced the patents granted to him and Norfolk illegal and void. This act of flagrant injustice was Richard's ruin. The patience of the nation was now exhausted; the friends of Henry were active; plans of insurrection were formed, and the great lords were sounded. As if to hasten his destruction, the infatuated monarch, while the political horizon boded a tempest, set out on another expedition to Ireland, to avenge the death of the Earl of March, who had been slain by the native Irish. Having made the Duke of York regent, he sailed from Milford, and landed at Waterford on the 31st of May.

Shortly after, Henry, accompanied by the exiled primate and a few attendants, sailed with three small vessels from Vannes in Brittany, and landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire on the 4th of July. He was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, to whom he declared, on oath, that he only sought to recover the honours and estates which had belonged to his father. The regent, when he heard of his landing, summoned the vassals of the crown to St. Albans. A numerous army assembled; but, finding the leaders mostly disinclined to act against Henry, who appeared only to seek his right, he turned and moved towards Bristol, whither the Earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Bussy, and Sir Henry Green, members of the committee, who had been left in charge of the young queen, had already fled. Henry soon reached London, at the head of sixty thousand men; and, after a delay of a few days, followed the regent. An interview between the uncle and nephew took place in the church of the Castle of Berkeley, which ended in their united forces of one

hundred thousand men appearing before the Castle of Bristol, the regent having been either intimidated or deceived. The castle surrendered; and Wiltshire, Bussy, and Green, as was usual in such cases, were executed without even the form of a trial. The Duke of York then remained at Bristol, while Henry proceeded to Chester on the 8th of August.

The state of the weather had hitherto prevented intelligence from being conveyed to the king. When he heard of what had occurred, he sent the Earl of Salisbury over, with as many men as the ships in Dublin could carry, while he himself led the rest of his forces to Waterford. Salisbury landed at Conway, where, by summoning the Welshmen to his standard, he assembled a respectable force; but, as the king did not appear, they dispersed after waiting for a fortnight. Richard at length, on the 5th of August, landed at Milford with several thousand men; but, when he arose on the second morning and looked out of his window, he saw that the greater part had already deserted. He held a council with his friends. Some advised that he should fly to Bordeaux; but the Duke of Exeter strongly objected to this course, and proposed that they should proceed to join the army at Conway. This was agreed to; and in the night the king, disguised as a priest, his brothers Exeter and Surrey, the Bishop of Carlisle, and some others, stole away and set out for Conway; but here they found only Salisbury and a hundred men. It was then resolved, on the 9th, that Surrey and Exeter should repair to Henry, and learn what were his intentions. They met him at Chester. Surrey was instantly thrown into confinement, and Exeter was induced to lay aside the hart, the royal badge, and assume the rose, that of Henry. To secure the person of the king, Northumberland was sent with 500 men-at-arms and 1000 archers; but these he was not to let be seen, lest Richard should put to sea.

The earl, having secured the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan, and placed his men under a rock a few miles from the latter, advanced to Conway with only

five attendants. When admitted to the king's presence on the 18th, he delivered a letter from Exeter, declaring that full credit might be given to the offers he might make. These were, that Richard should promise to govern by law; that Exeter, Surrey, Salisbury, and the Bishop of Carlisle should stand their trial for having advised the assassination of the Duke of Gloucester; and that Henry should be made grand justiciary, as his ancestors had been. These terms being granted, Henry would come to Flint, ask pardon on his knees, and accompany the king to London. Richard accepted the terms, privately assuring his friends that he would stand by them, and take ample vengeance on his and their enemies. "Fair sirs," said he, "we will grant it to him, for I see no other way. But I swear to you, that, whatever assurance I may give him, he shall surely be put to a bitter death; and, doubt it not, no parliament shall be held at Westminster. As soon as I have spoken with Henry, I will summon the men of Wales, and make head against him; and, if he and his friends be discomfited, they shall die. Some of them I will flay alive."

Mass was performed; Northumberland swore on the host to observe the conditions; he departed, and, after dinner, the king set out for Flint. On coming to a steep declivity close to the sea, he dismounted, and began to walk down. Suddenly he stopped and cried, "I am betrayed! God of Paradise, aid me! See ye not banners and pennons below in the valley?" Northumberland now joined him, but affected ignorance. "If I thought you could betray me," said the king, "it is not too late to return." "You cannot," said the earl, catching hold of the bridle; "I have promised to convey you to the Duke of Lancaster." By this time one hundred lancers and two hundred archers had come up; and Richard, seeing escape impossible, said, "May the God on whom you laid your hand reward you and your accomplices at the last day!" Then turning to his companions, "We are betrayed," said he; "but remember that our Lord also

was sold, and delivered into the hands of his enemies."

At Flint, the king, when left with his friends, reproached himself bitterly, it is said, with his former lenity to the man who had now risen up against him. Three times he averred he had pardoned him: once when even his own father would have put him to death. He passed a sleepless night. On the morning of the 19th he ascended the tower, and beheld Henry's army of eighty thousand men advancing. He shuddered and wept. After dinner he was summoned down to the court to meet the duke, who, advancing (armed all save his head), bent his knee. "Fair cousin of Lancaster," said the king, "you are welcome." "My lord," replied the duke, "I am come before my time; but I will show you the reason. Your people complain that for twenty or two-and-twenty years you have ruled them rigorously; but, if it please God, I will help you to govern better." "Fair cousin, since it pleaseth you, it pleaseth me well," replied the king. Henry then spoke to all but the Earl of Salisbury. The king's horses were forthwith ordered; Richard and Salisbury were mounted on two sorry jades; and thus, amid the sound of trumpets and shouts of the soldiers, they followed the duke to Chester. Here the king was made to issue a proclamation for assembling a parliament. Henry then conducted him towards London. At Lichfield, on the 24th, the captive monarch attempted to escape, by letting himself down from his window; but he was taken in the garden. On reaching London on the 31st, he was placed in the Tower.*

Henry's design on the crown was now no longer concealed. He wished to cause Richard to abdicate voluntarily; and, for this purpose, assailed him with both promises and threats. The day before the parliament met, a deputation waited on the king, and reminded him of a promise he had made at Conway to resign the crown; and, on his expressing his will-

* The preceding narrative has been given by Turner and Lingard, from the manuscript accounts of two eye-witnesses.

ingness so to do, he was handed a paper, in which he was made to absolve his subjects from their allegiance, to renounce the royal authority, and to swear that he would never act, or suffer others to act, in opposition to this resignation. He read it, we are told, with a cheerful countenance; and added that, if he were to choose a successor, it would be his cousin of Lancaster there present, to whom he then handed his ring.*

Next day, the 29th of September, the two houses met in Westminster Hall. The throne stood empty, covered with cloth of gold. Henry sat on his seat beside it. Richard's act of resignation was read, amid the shouts of the attendant multitude. The coronation-oath was next read; then followed thirty-three articles of impeachment against Richard, whose deposition was voted unanimously; and eight commissioners, mounting a tribunal, pronounced the sentence. Then Henry rose; and, making the sign of the cross on his forehead and breast, thus spoke: "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England, as I am descended by right line of blood from the good lord King Henry III.,† and, through that right, that God of his grace hath sent me, with help of my kin and of my friends, to recover it: the which realm was in point to be undone for default of government, and undoing of the good laws." His claim was at once admitted; he produced the ring of Richard; the primate then took him by the hand, and led him to the throne; on the steps he knelt and prayed; the two archbishops seated him on the throne. The primate briefly addressed the assembly. Henry then

* Such is the account entered on the rolls of parliament; but, as the entry was made in the reign of Henry, we may fairly doubt its accuracy.

† Hardyng, a contemporary chronicler, says that he had often heard the Earl of Northumberland assert that John of Gaunt had forged a chronicle, to prove that Edmund (from whom he was descended in the female line), and not Edward I., was the eldest son of Henry III., but that he had been set aside on account of his deformity. Henry seems here to allude to that story.

rose and gave thanks to all, assuring them he would disturb the rights of property of no man ; and, having directed the parliament to meet again in six days, and appointed new officers of the crown, he retired to the palace.

Such was the mode in which the grandson of Edward III. was deprived of his throne. Far from us be the remotest thought of extenuating the baseness and treachery of Northumberland and other lords, or of justifying the ambition of the Duke of Lancaster ; but truth compels us to declare, that Richard was rejected of the people, who saw no refuge from tyranny but in depriving him of his power. That his deposition was the act of the nation is not to be doubted, for no one rose on his side ; and the means of Lancaster were feeble in themselves, and could have achieved nothing in opposition to the wishes of a majority of the people. We must therefore regard this event as similar to a much more famous one, which took place about three centuries later, and to be justified on the same grounds ; and therefore view, in the house of Lancaster, a line of rightful princes.

The deposed monarch was only in his thirty-fourth year. His features were feminine, his manners abrupt ; he passionately loved show and parade, and was devoted to pleasure. At the same time, he was arbitrary and tyrannical ; and the deep dissimulation with which he for so many years nourished and concealed his projects of revenge on his uncle and others, and the tiger-ferocity with which he sprang to vengeance when he saw his time come, almost destroy all sympathy for his own unhappy fate.

In the sixteenth year of this prince was passed the important statute of *Præmunire*. By this, all persons bringing into the kingdom papal bulls for translations of bishops and other purposes, were to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned for life. This act received a very large interpretation from the judges, and proved of great service in checking the papal usurpations.

A spirit of innovation, or reform in religion, was at work at this time in England; and John Wickliffe, the precursor, or pioneer of those who overthrew the dominion of the papacy, flourished in the reigns of Edward and Richard. We will give a brief account of this extraordinary man, and his labours and opinions.

Wickliffe was born in 1324. He graduated at Oxford, where, from his great knowledge of Scripture, he acquired the title of the Gospel Doctor. He was also perfectly skilled in the scholastic philosophy then in vogue. He first appeared as an author in 1356, when he put forth a tract, in which he found the moral cause of the great plague, with which Europe had just been afflicted, in the vices and corruption of the church. Four years later he engaged in a controversy with those pests of society (as they have always proved), the Mendicant orders. The insolence, the rapacity, the shameless falsehood of these men, had passed all bounds. They swarmed over the whole country, "as thick as motès in the sonnè beme;" they everywhere disparaged the secular clergy and the monks, whose revenues they frequently diverted to themselves. As the universities suffered much from their artifices, that of Oxford testified its gratitude for the exertions of Wickliffe, by presenting him with a living of some value; and he shortly after was made warden of Baliol College. He was then made head of Canterbury Hall by primate Islep, its founder; but he was deprived by Langham, Islep's successor. Wickliffe appealed to the pope, who decided, as might be expected, against him; and the king, on receiving a present of two hundred marks (\$620) from the monks of Canterbury, in whose favour the decision had been made, confirmed it. Wickliffe appeared as the champion of the crown and parliament in the dispute with the pope about the tribute yielded by John, and triumphantly refuted the arguments of the papal advocates. In 1372 he obtained a doctor's degree, and the professorship of divinity; and in 1374 he was one of the commissioners sent to Bruges to treat with the papal ministers on the subject of provis-

ions. On his return he was presented by the crown with a prebendal stall in the diocese of Worcester, and with the rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire.

Wickliffe had returned from Bruges, convinced, as he says, that the pope was "the most cursed of clippers and purse-kervers;" and he went on fearlessly in his exposures of the papal corruptions. The heads of the church thought they could no longer safely remain silent; and he was therefore summoned to appear before the convocation at St. Paul's. On the appointed day, the 19th of February, 1377, he came, accompanied by his patron the Duke of Lancaster, and by Lord Henry Percy, the earl-marshal. An altercation took place between these noblemen and Courteney bishop of London, in which the advantage of temper and decorum was clearly on the side of the prelate; and the citizens, who disliked the duke, espousing the cause of their bishop, made an uproar, which caused the assembly to be broken up. Next day the mob went to the duke's palace, the Savoy, reversed his arms, and murdered a priest whom they took for the earl-marshal.

The pope now fulminated four bulls against Wickliffe; and the next year, 1378, he had to appear at Lambeth before the papal delegates. But the Londoners assembled in great numbers, and even broke into the chapel where they were sitting, menacing them with destruction if anything befell the reformer; and a message came from the young king's mother, the "Fair Maid of Kent," desiring them not to proceed in the business. Wickliffe delivered a paper explanatory of his sentiments, in which he so enveloped them in scholastic jargon, that his judges affected to be satisfied of his orthodoxy, and dismissed him. He returned to his rectory; the great schism in the papacy succeeded; and the court of Rome had no leisure to attend to him. He therefore went on exposing its errors; and at length had the hardihood to assail its palladium, the doctrine of the real corporeal presence. The Duke of Lancaster, in dismay at his temerity, now abandoned him; and he was summon-

ed before the convocation at Oxford in 1382, where he maintained his opinions. A mandate was obtained from the king, banishing him from that university; and he retired to Lutterworth, where he died of paralysis, on the last day of the year 1384. Thirty years after, by a decree of the council of Constance, his remains were taken up and burned, and cast into the adjacent stream named the Swift.

Wickliffe arrived at the truth on most points when once he had the courage to search the Scriptures for himself. His discoveries, like those of all independent inquirers, were of course gradual: hence we must expect to find in his writings, as in those of others who, by patient inquiry, have endeavoured to extricate themselves out of the labyrinth of error, imperfect views and even contradictions, bold assertions and unguarded expressions, poured out in the first fervour of discovery, but softened and restricted on cooler consideration. This renders it difficult to state, with any certainty, what his real opinions on every point were; and the difficulty is increased by the circumstance that only a portion of his works have been printed.*

Two of the principal doctrines of the papal church are those of Merits and Transubstantiation: in opposition to the former, Wickliffe held the doctrine of justification by faith only; though, perhaps, not in such strong terms as some subsequent reformers have done; and on the latter point he seems to have agreed with the present Church of England in denying a bodily, but acknowledging a spiritual presence in the sacramental elements. To most of the other erroneous doctrines then inculcated, rather than shock prejudice by denying them, he tried to give a rational sense; but against pardons, indulgences, and excommunications, his invectives were trumpet-toned. Viewing with the Albigenes, with Dante, Petrarca, and

* The Germans have printed all the works and letters of their great reformer, Luther. It is not to the credit of England that those of her reformer should still remain in manuscript.

other opponents of the Church of Rome, the pope as anti-Christ, he unsparingly applied that and similar terms to him and his supporters; and, as his was an age of coarseness and plain speaking, his language, as well as that of his adversaries, frequently passes the limits set to controversy by the decorum of the present day.

In opposition to the claims of Rome, Wickliffe was strenuous in upholding the authority of the state over all orders of men. Tithes he regarded as *alms* bestowed on the church; and he held that the state was justified in withholding them, if the clergy neglected their duty. Perhaps he went even farther; and thought that, in such case, the individual layman might refuse tithes and dues. His own retention of a valuable living till his death is, we think, a sufficient proof that he did not consider that the clergy should derive their only support from voluntary offerings. Still, his language on this point was ambiguous, and very liable to perversion. It was equally so on another: the right of wicked men to their temporal possessions; and Wickliffe has been charged with holding the doctrine of dominion being founded in grace. Yet here again the inference is belied by his life and conduct; and his language, if rightly understood, is perfectly innocent, and far less strong than that of even Augustine on the same subject. It is, however, not impossible that, as is asserted, these principles of Wickliffe, being misunderstood, may have been used at the time of the rising of the peasantry to justify the excesses they were urged to commit.

Following the maxim that we may learn from an enemy, Wickliffe sent his Poor Priests, as he styled them, as itinerant preachers through the kingdom; imitating in this his foes the friars. His doctrines were thus widely spread, and were embraced by numbers of both sexes. His followers, who were remarked for the purity and even austerity of their morals, were named Lollards.*

* It is said, from the Low Dutch *lollen* or *lallen*, "to sing."

But Wickliffe gave a still deeper wound to the corruptions of the Romish Church, by translating the Bible into English, and thus enabling even the unlearned to see how repugnant to the Word of God were many of her doctrines and practices.

CHAPTER IX.

HENRY IV. (OF BOLINGBROKE).*

1399-1413.

Murder of Richard II.—Battle of Homildon.—Battle of Shrewsbury.—Suppression of the Insurrection.—Seizure of the Prince of Scotland.—Anecdotes of the Prince of Wales.—King's Death and Character.—The Clergy.

THAT Henry of Lancaster was the choice of the nation is an undeniable fact. The true heir of the throne was the Earl of March; but he was a child, only seven years old, and not a voice was raised in his favour. So little fear had Henry of his claims, that he contented himself with holding him and his brother in an honourable confinement at Windsor.

When parliament met, the titles of Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Guienne, &c., were conferred on Henry's eldest son; an indirect way of acknowledging the justice of the king's title. The acts of the twenty-first year of Richard were repealed, and those of his eleventh year were affirmed. The lords appellant against the Duke of Gloucester and his friends were deprived of the titles and estates bestowed on them on that account. Future appeals of treason were prohibited, as also were delegations of the powers of parliament to a committee. It was likewise forbidden, under heavy penalties, for any one but the king to give liveries. Towards the close of the ses-

* Authorities: Walsingham, Otterburne, Monstrelet.

sion, the primate having previously enjoined all the lords to strict secrecy, the Earl of Northumberland delivered a message from the king, requiring them to say what should be done with the deposed monarch, whose life the king was resolved to preserve. They replied, that he should be placed in sure ward, in a place where there should be no concourse of people, under trusty officers; and that none of his friends should be admitted to him. The king then came to the house on the 24th of October, and passed this sentence on his unhappy predecessor, whose fate, it was evident, was now sealed.

How long that fate might have been delayed, had no conspiracy been formed in his favour, it is hard to say. But five of the lords appellant had agreed among themselves to invite the king to a tournament at Oxford, there to seize him, and to proclaim Richard. Rutland, however, who was one of them, proved a traitor. It is said, indeed, that his father, the Duke of York, insisting on seeing a letter which he had received, he, finding concealment impossible, went and revealed the whole to the king. The conspirators, who had altered their plan, on the 4th of January, 1400, seized the castle of Windsor; but Henry, warned by Rutland, had left it and gone to London, where he proclaimed them as traitors, and commenced a levy of troops. They retired to the west, proclaiming Richard as they went. At Cirencester, where they lay the first night, the people rose under their mayor and attacked the quarters of the earls of Kent and Salisbury, whom they forced to surrender, and beheaded them the next night. The same fate befell the lords Lumley and Despenser at Bristol; and the Earl of Huntingdon falling into the hands of the late Duke of Gloucester's tenants at Pleshy, was put to death by them. The death of the deposed monarch soon followed. The lords had risen in the first week of January; and, before the end of the month, his death at Pontefract was announced. He had refused food, it was said, when he heard of the death of his brothers Kent and Huntingdon. To this, however,

few gave credit: the general opinion was, that he had been starved to death by order of Henry, and that he had lingered for fifteen days. Another account says, that Sir Piers of Exton came from London with seven assistants to murder him. Richard, when they entered his room, being aware of their design, sprang forward and snatched a battle-axe from one, with which he killed some of them; but Exton brought him to the ground by a blow on the back of the head, and then with a second blow despatched him. The body was brought to London and exposed at St. Paul's, with the lower part of the face uncovered; which proved that Richard was dead, but nothing more. Henry attended the obsequies in person at St. Paul's; and then the corpse was interred at Langley.*

To set his own spirit and activity in opposition to the inertness of his predecessor, Henry summoned the military tenants to his standard; and, marching to the Tyne, sent to claim the homage of the King of Scotland. On meeting with a refusal, he advanced to Edinburgh; but he did not waste and destroy the country. The Scots would give no opportunity of fighting, and want of supplies forced him to retire. A border-war was kept up, the principal event of which was the battle of Homildon or Humbledown, in 1402. The Earl of Douglas having passed the borders, at the head of ten thousand men, to ravage the northern counties, the Earl of Northumberland and his son Henry Percy, named Hotspur, assembled their troops to intercept him on his return. When they met, on the 14th of September, the Scots occupied the hill of Homildon, and the English an opposite eminence. The English archers descended into the valley and won the victory, while the men-at-arms stood looking on. Douglas himself, and many nobles and knights, were made prisoners.

The very next year, 1403, strange as it may seem, Northumberland took up arms against the man whom he had aided to seize the crown. Whatever the real

* See Lingard, iv., 283.

cause may have been, the occasion was as follows. There was a gentleman in Wales named Owen Glendour, or of Glendourdy, descended from its ancient princes. He had received a legal education in England, and had been in the service of the Earl of Arundel and the late king. Lord Grey de Ruthyn, a relative of Henry's, seized some of Glendour's land which lay contiguous to his own. The Welshman applied to parliament; but, getting no redress, he took advantage of the king's absence in Scotland to right himself by a strong hand. Owen was declared an outlaw; and, in return, he assumed the sovereignty of Wales. His countrymen, who were studying or labouring in England, provided arms and flocked to him; and the belief that he was versed in magic arts augmented his influence. The king thrice led an army in person into Wales; and thrice he had to retire, baffled by the weather, the country, and the skill of Glendour. Lord Grey and Sir Edmund Mortimer were each defeated and made captives in 1402. The king, his son, and the Earl of Arundel invaded Wales at three different points; but the heavens seemed to fight for the champions of independence, as tremendous rains forced the invaders to retire; and Henry himself actually ascribed his ill-success to the magic of Glendour. He then gave permission to the relatives of Lord Grey to ransom him; but he refused those of Mortimer when they applied for the same favour.

This, we are told, irritated Hotspur, who was married to Mortimer's sister. His father and his uncle, the Earl of Worcester, shared in his discontent; and, on their applying for advice to Scrope, archbishop of York, the prelate urged them to proclaim the rightful heir, and levy war on Henry as an usurper. A secret confederacy was formed with Douglas, to whom they gave his liberty, and with Owen Glendour, who is said to have given his daughter in marriage to Mortimer. Northumberland having fallen sick, Hotspur, joined by Douglas, led his forces towards Wales; and, when his uncle came up with his troops in Cheshire, they put forth a manifesto, accu-

sing the king of wasting the public treasure, and allowing his favourites to exclude the great lords from access to him. Henry, who was on his way to the north, replied, that the greater part of the late supplies had been paid to the Percies themselves, and offered them a safe-conduct to come and expose their griefs. At Burton-on-Trent he learned the route of the rebels ; and, turning westward, he entered Shrewsbury just as they came in sight of it. Hotspur halted at Hartlefield ; whence he sent a defiance to the king, calling him false and perjured for having violated all the engagements made on his return to England, and having usurped the crown. Henry, unable to refute the charges, replied that he had no time for writing, and that the sword should decide.

Next morning, the 21st of July, the two armies, each about fourteen thousand men, were drawn out. The king sent the Abbot of Shrewsbury with proposals of peace ; but, by the influence of Worcester, they were rejected. The adverse cries of " St. George !" and " Esperance Percy !" then rose ; the archers on both sides poured in their fatal hail of arrows ; Hotspur and Douglas, each with thirty followers, plunged into the centre of the English, seeking the king ; the Earl of Stafford, Sir Walter Blount, and two others, all of whom wore the royal arms to deceive the enemy, were slain ; and the Prince of Wales was wounded in the face. Hotspur and Douglas now attempted to force their way back ; but a chance arrow pierced the brain of the former, and the latter was made a prisoner. After a conflict of three hours, the insurgents fled. More than a third of the royal army was slain or wounded, but the loss of the rebels was much greater. Worcester, Lord Kinderton, and Sir Richard Vernon, who were among the prisoners, were executed as traitors ; but Douglas was treated with all courtesy. Northumberland, who was on his way to join his son when he heard of his defeat and death, disbanded his forces, and shut himself up in his castle of Warkworth. He came, however, and surrendered himself to the king at York on the 11th of August, and

received a pardon for all offences in the next parliament.

Though Henry was thus triumphant over his enemies, his throne was by no means secure: Glendour was still in arms; a false Richard had been set up;* the favourers of the rights of Mortimer were numerous; and the young Earl of March had even been stolen out of Windsor Castle, but was speedily retaken. Soon, too, another insurrection broke out in Yorkshire, in 1405, headed by Scrope the archbishop, Northumberland, and Mowbray, earl-marshal, son of the late Duke of Norfolk. A writing was fixed on the doors of the churches, charging the king with perjury, rebellion, the murder of his sovereign, and various other crimes; and eight thousand men, led by the archbishop and the earl-marshal, assembled at Shipton-on-the-Moor near York. Prince John, Henry's third son, and the Earl of Westmoreland, came against them. A conference took place between the leaders on the 29th of May; the prelate and earl were induced (whether by guile or not is uncertain) to disband their forces; and they were then made prisoners, and conveyed to Henry at Pontefract. The king directed Gascoigne, the chief justice, to pass sentence on them; and, when he scrupled to do so, gave the charge to a knight named Fulthorpe, who made no hesitation; and the prelate and the earl were both beheaded. Northumberland fled into Scotland, and the king reduced all his castles. Some time after, in 1408, the earl made an irruption into the north; but he was defeated and slain near Tadcaster on the 28th of February, by Sir Thomas Rokeby, the sheriff of the county. Wales was gradually reduced; but Owen Glendour still held out in the retired fastnesses. He was living in the following reign, and seems never to have lost his liberty or his independence.

An accident, fortunate for him, but of which he did not make the most generous use, gave Henry a control over the councils of Scotland. The Duke of Al-

* See Appendix (B).

bany, brother of Robert III., had seized on the power of the state ; his eldest nephew, heir to the crown, had perished in the prison in which he had been confined ; and Robert, to save his younger son James, a child but nine years old, was sending him to France in 1405. The ship on board of which the prince was, being captured by an English cruiser, Henry, though there was a truce between the two countries at the time, refused to liberate the royal captive. Robert dying shortly after, Albany assumed the government ; and Henry then was able, by the threat of setting the rightful heir at liberty, to keep the regency in a state of subserviency. He, however, made some amends to the prince for his loss of liberty, by having him carefully educated.

The public events of the remainder of this king's reign, if we except a slight interference in the quarrels of the French princes, were of no importance. The wildness and levities of the Prince of Wales are said to have caused his father some uneasiness. This prince, who had shown undoubted valour in the field, in time of peace plunged into riot and excess ; but still gleams of right feeling broke through his follies. It is said that, when one of his riotous companions had been taken up, and brought before the chief justice Gascoigne, the prince went and demanded his release ; and, when refused, drew his sword on the judge. Gascoigne forthwith ordered him to prison for the offence, and the prince meekly submitted. "Happy the monarch," said the king when he heard it, "who has a judge so resolute in the discharge of his duty, and a son so willing to submit to the laws." A suspicion was also instilled into the mind of the king, that his son aspired to the throne. When the prince heard of this, he demanded an audience of his father, threw himself on his knees before him, and, handing him a dagger, besought him to deprive him of life, since he had deprived him of his favour.

Though the king was but in his forty-sixth year, the symptoms of approaching death were manifest. Violent eruptions had broken out in his face ; he was

subject to constant fits of epilepsy ; and remorse, it is added, secretly preyed on his conscience. We are told that one day, as he lay in a fit apparently dead, the prince came in ; and, taking the crown, which, according to custom, lay by him on a cushion, carried it into an adjoining room. The king, on recovering, sternly asked what had become of his crown ; and the prince instantly brought it back. "Alas ! fair son," said the king, at the close of their conversation, "what right have you to the crown, when you know your father had none ?" "My liege," said the prince, "with the sword you won it, and with the sword I will keep it." "Well," replied the king, "do as you think best : I leave the issue to God, and hope he will have mercy on my soul."* As he was praying in St. Edward's Chapel in Westminster Abbey, on the 20th of March, 1413, he was seized with his last fit, and expired in the abbot's chamber.

Henry IV. was possessed of many estimable qualities ; and, had he obtained the crown in a regular way, would have made an excellent sovereign. Injustice, as we have seen, drove him to crime ; and one act led to another, till they ended in the murder of his unhappy kinsman and predecessor.

By his wife, Mary Bohun, coheirress of the Earl of Hereford, Henry had four sons : Henry, his successor, Thomas, duke of Clarence, John, duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester ; and two daughters, who were married to the Duke of Bavaria and the King of Denmark. He had no issue by his second wife, Jane of Navarre.

Those who had given Henry his crown resolved to derive advantage from the nature of his title. The commons strengthened most of their rights and privileges in this reign, and acquired new ones. Such, for instance, was freedom from arrest for themselves : a privilege at that time necessary for the cause of liber-

* Monstrelet, i., 163. Lingard thinks this was an invention of the rival family.

ty; but which, at the present day, only serves to enable poor or dishonest members to baffle their creditors, and thus brings into or keeps in parliament men who should not be there. They also established their right not merely to vote, but to appropriate the supplies.

The clergy obtained, in the second year of this king, the writ *De comburendo hæretico*;* and thus partially introduced into the kingdom the Inquisition, with its horrible *autos-da-fé*.† Instead of inquiring into the opinions of the Lollards, to find whether any of them were really injurious to society, they made the scholastic dogma of transubstantiation the test. Primate Arundel immediately began to act on this statute; and the first victim to the metaphysical Moloch was William Sautre, parish priest of St. Osithes. A tailor named Badby was also burned in the presence of Prince Henry, who vainly urged him to recant and save himself.

Though parliament authorized the church to check freedom of thought by fire and fagot, they seemed well enough inclined to deprive it of its income. In the sixth year of Henry, the commons urged him to seize the temporalities of the church for the public service. They said that the clergy possessed a third of the lands of the kingdom, that they bore no part of the public burdens, and that their wealth disqualified them for the proper discharge of their religious duties. The primate answered, that the clergy sent their vassals and tenants to the wars, and that they themselves offered up prayers, night and day, for the prosperity of the state. The speaker replied, with a smile, that he thought their prayers but a slender supply. It was the evident policy of Henry to court the clergy, and the commons therefore were baffled. In the eleventh year of the king, however, they made a new attempt.

* For the burning of heretics.

† Auto-da-fé is a Portuguese phrase, literally meaning "act of faith," but commonly applied to signify the public ceremony of burning persons charged by the Inquisition with heresy, or with disobedience to the institutions of the Romish church.—*Am. Ed.*

They proposed to Henry to seize the whole of the church property, as fifteen thousand priests, with stipends of seven marks (\$22) a year, would discharge the spiritual duties better than they were then done. Henry rejected the proposal with great indignation.*

CHAPTER X.

HENRY V.†

1413-1422.

Sir John Oldcastle.—Henry claims the Crown of France.—Conspiracy.—Invasion of France.—Battle of Agincourt.—State of France.—Conference of Meulant.—The Perpetual Peace.—Death of Henry.

THE joy of the nation at the accession of Henry V. was extreme. It was, indeed, slightly shaded by the conduct of the young monarch. He dismissed his former companions with suitable presents, assuring them of farther favour when they should show that they were reformed. He continued his father's honest servants and ministers in their offices; set the Earl of March at liberty; restored the Percy family to their estates and honours; and removed the remains of Richard II. (by whom he had once been favoured‡) from Langley, and deposited them in Westminster Abbey, himself attending as chief mourner.

* Walsingham, 371, 379. They said that the revenue of the church would suffice for the support of 15 earls, 1500 knights, 6000 esquires, and 100 hospitals, besides leaving 20,000*l.* (\$96,000) a year to the king.

† Authorities: Walsingham, Elmham, Titus Livius, Monstrelet.

‡ He attended Richard on his last unfortunate expedition to Ireland, at which time he received knighthood from his hand. Richard, though expressing himself satisfied of young Henry's innocence of his father's designs, left him, when departing from Ireland, a prisoner in the Castle of Trim.

One cloud alone overcast this propitious dawn. The sect of the Lollards was represented to the king as holding opinions alike subversive of church and state; and he was induced to allow the zealous primate Arundel to put the laws in force against them. Sir John Oldcastle (who was Baron of Cobham in right of his wife), a man of distinguished military talents, and high in the favour of the late king, was regarded as the head of the sect; and the primate, deeming him the fittest person to commence with, applied to the king for permission to endict him. Henry advised moderation, and undertook himself to reason with the accused; but the zealous soldier was not to be moved by the royal arguments. The primate was then allowed to proceed, and was aided by his suffragans of London, Winchester, and St. David's. The knight was brought before them; and, after a noble defence of his opinions, in which he clearly confuted his adversaries, and, at the same time, so explained his sentiments as to leave abundant room for conciliation if his judges desired it, he was declared guilty of heresy, and delivered over to the tender mercies of the secular arm.* He however made his escape from the Tower, in which he was confined. He and his followers are now said to have formed the atrocious design of surprising the King at Eltham, where he kept Christmas; putting him, his brothers, and the principal clergy and nobility to death, and forming the realm into a federal republic, with Oldcastle for its president. This scheme, it is added, was frustrated by the sudden return of the king to Westminster; and the insurgents then were directed to assemble at an appointed time in St. Giles's fields; but the night before the king occupied the ground with some troops, having previously closed the city-gates to keep in the Lollards of the city. The first parties that arrived were made prisoners; and the rest who were coming,

* Read his trial in Foxe, or in Southey's *Book of the Church*, in confirmation of this, i., 359-379. Lingard, on the other hand, says that "his conduct was as arrogant and insulting as that of his judge was *mild* and dignified."

when they heard this ill news, dispersed and fled. This occurred in 1414.

This account, which is given by the bitter enemies of the Lollards, has a most improbable air; yet we know not what violent projects men driven to desperation may have formed. At all events, the prisons in and about London were filled; and thirty-nine persons, among whom was Sir Roger Acton, a man of good property, were suspended by chains from a gallows in Ficket Field, and then burned alive as heretics and traitors. A reward of 1000 marks (\$3200) was offered for Lord Cobham, dead or alive; but he escaped into Wales, where, during four years, he eluded his persecutors. At length he was discovered by Lord Powis. He defended himself valiantly; and would probably not have been taken alive, if a woman had not broken his leg with a blow of a stool. He was carried to London in a horse-litter, where he was hung by a chain, and burned alive as a heretic.*

It is said that the late king had, when dying, charged his son, if he wished for domestic quiet, never to let the nation remain long at rest; it is also said that the primate, fearing an attack on the property of the church, to which parliament was urging the king, to divert his thoughts and those of the nation to other objects, advised him to assert his claim to the crown of France. Whether these counsels were given or not, the present distracted state of France offered a fair field for ambition. The king, Charles VI., after some years of the fairest promise, became subject to fits of derangement. The conduct of affairs was disputed between his brother, the Duke of Orleans, and his cousin, the Duke of Burgundy. The latter having caused the former to be assassinated, the kingdom was filled with bloodshed and ruin by the two con-

* "Judgment," says Lingard, "was instantly pronounced, that he should be hanged as a traitor and burned as a heretic. St. Giles's fields, which had been the theatre of his rebellion, witnessed also his punishment." This is not a fair statement: as the reader is led to think that he was first hanged, and then his body burned, instead of being roasted to death as he was.

tending parties ; for the princes of the blood all sided with the young Duke of Orleans, whose party was named the Armagnacs, from his father-in-law, the count of that name. The late King of England had fomented the quarrel, by giving alternate aid to each party ; and the ardent spirit of the present young monarch urged him to renew his claim to the crown. This demand being at once rejected, Henry offered to be content with the full sovereignty of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, the places named in the Peace of Bretigni, and one half of Provence,* requiring that the arrears of King John's ransom should be paid, and the Princess Catharine should be given in marriage to him, with a portion of two millions of gold crowns. These terms were too extravagant to be entertained ; but he was offered the whole of the ancient duchy of Aquitaine, and the princess with a dower of 600,000 crowns (\$684,000). Henry recalled his ambassadors and began to prepare for war, his parliament cheerfully granting him two tenths and two fifteenths. He however sent again in 1415, giving up his claim to Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, and offering to take the princess with one million of crowns, but insisting on all the other terms. The French court offered to raise the princess's portion to 800,000 crowns (\$912,000), but would yield on no other point. Henry forthwith prepared for war ; and, by pawning his jewels and by loans, he raised a sum of 500,000 nobles (\$800,000), while his barons and knights were busily engaged in levying troops.

When the army had assembled at Southampton, the king proceeded thither. Visions of glory floated before his imagination as he viewed the embarkation of his gallant troops ; but these visions were overcast with gloom by information of a conspiracy among those of his own family and household, to rob him of life and fame. The objects of the conspirators, the Earl of Cambridge, brother to the Duke of York, Sir

* Henry III. and his brother had married two of the four co-heiresses of Berenger, count of Provence.

Thomas Grey, and Lord Scroop of Masham, are obscure. Their plan is said to have been to conduct the Earl of March to the frontiers of Wales, and there proclaim him king, in case that Richard II. were really dead. They were condemned and executed as traitors: but the innocence of the Earl of March would seem to be proved by the circumstance of his sitting as one of their judges. Yet such was the insecurity of life and honour in those days, that he deemed it prudent, soon after, to obtain from the king a pardon for all treasons and offences.*

King Henry soon embarked; and a speedy voyage carried his fleet of fifteen hundred sail to the mouth of the Seine, where, on the 14th of August, he landed a gallant army of six thousand men-at-arms and twenty-four thousand archers, and immediately invested the town of Harfleur by sea and land. After a valiant resistance for nearly five weeks, the town capitulated on the 22d of September; the inhabitants were expelled, being only permitted to take a part of their clothes and fivepence each; and the remainder of the property was divided among the victorious army. But this army was soon sadly thinned by dysentery; and, when the sick and wounded had been sent home to England, and a garrison had been placed in Harfleur, the king found his troops reduced to one half their original number, and no longer adequate to any enterprise of moment. Still, his chivalrous spirit would not suffer him to re-embark, without giving some farther proof of his knightly daring; and, in spite of the remonstrances of his council, he resolved, on the 8th of October, to lead his diminished forces to Calais. The army marched in three divisions (the usual English mode); supplies were hardly procured from the villages on the way; and the enemy hung on them, and cut off the stragglers. At length they approached Blanchetaque, where Edward III. had crossed the Somme; but the ford was now secured by lines

* Hallam says, "he had certainly connived for a while at the conspiracy."—View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages, p. 446, Harpers' edition.

of palisades, with troops stationed behind them. The king retired, and moved up the river ; but all the bridges were broken, and all the fords secured ; and the enemy moved as he moved along the opposite bank. At length, finding a ford near Bethencourt unguarded, the English crossed, and established themselves on the right bank. D'Albret, constable of France, who commanded the French army, fell back towards Calais, sending orders to all the troops that were on their march to join him without delay. Meantime, in a council of war held at Rouen, at which King Charles was present, it was resolved to give battle ; and orders to that effect were transmitted to the constable, who communicated them by heralds to King Henry, inquiring which way he intended to march. The king replied, by that which led straight to Calais ; and dismissed the heralds, with a present of one hundred crowns.

The English leisurely pursued their march towards Blangi. On reaching an eminence, the Duke of York descried the enemy making for Azincourt.* The king gave orders to form in line of battle ; but, as the enemy did not approach, the English, after standing in their ranks till evening, advanced to a village named Maisoncelles, where they obtained good provisions and remained for the night. The French, who now amounted to at least fifty thousand horsemen, took a position in the fields before the village of Azincourt, through which the English, who D'Albret was resolved should be the assailants, must pass. Though the night was dark and rainy, they assembled round their banners, revelling and discussing the events of the coming day, even fixing the ransoms of the English king and his barons : for of victory they had not a doubt. The English passed the night far differently : they made their wills, and employed themselves in devotional exercises. Sickness, famine, and the thoughts of the paucity of their numbers tended to deject them ; but the recollection of former victories

* Called by English writers Agincourt.

and the gallant spirit of their king raised their spirits. The king took little rest : he visited all the quarters ; made his dispositions for battle next day ; bands of music, by his orders, played all through the night ; and before sunrise, on the 25th of October, he summoned all the army to hear mass, and then led them to the field.

The English were drawn up in three divisions and two wings ; the archers, as usual, being in advance of the men-at-arms. Each archer had a long stake, sharp at both ends, to stick into the ground before him, as a defence against the charge of the French cavalry. The king, mounted on a gray palfrey, having his helmet of polished steel wreathed with a crown of sparkling stones, rode from rank to rank cheering his men. Hearing one officer say to another that he wished a miracle would transfer thither some of the good knights who were sitting idle at home, he declared aloud that he would not have a single man more ; as, if God should give them the victory, it would be plainly due to his goodness ; and, if he did not, the fewer that fell, the less would be the loss to their country : but of the result he had no apprehension. The French army was similarly arrayed ; but its files were thirty, while those of the English were but four deep. The distance between the armies was not more than a quarter of a mile.

As the French did not advance, the king directed refreshments to be distributed through the ranks ; and he secretly sent off two detachments, the one to lie in ambush in a meadow on the enemy's left flank, the other to set fire to the houses in his rear during the action. Three French knights then came, summoning them to surrender. The king ordered them off, and forthwith cried, " Banners, advance !" Sir Thomas Erpingham cast his warder into the air ; the men fell on their knees, bit the ground, and then rose, and with a shout ran towards the foe. When they had gone twenty paces, they halted and shouted again ; those in ambush repeated the shout ; the archers fixed their stakes obliquely in the ground, and, running be-

yond them, discharged their arrows; a body of eight hundred horse, appointed to oppose them, was slaughtered and dispersed; and, in the confusion, the archers slung their bows behind their backs, and, grasping their swords and battle-axes, rushed on, killed the constable and his principal officers, and routed the whole of the first division. The archers formed again by the king's directions, who now came up with the men-at-arms, and attacked the second division, led by the Duke of Alençon. Here the resistance was obstinate. The Duke of Clarence being wounded and on the ground, the king stood over and defended him till he was removed to a place of safety. Eighteen French knights, bound by a vow to take or slay the king, now rushed on him, and a blow from the mace of one brought him on his knees; but his guards rescued him, and slew all the assailants. The Duke of Alençon reached the royal standard, killed the Duke of York, and cleft the crown on the king's head; but he speedily fell, and his division turned and fled. Henry now prepared to attack the third division. Just then word came that a large force was falling on the rear. In the hurry of the moment, the king gave orders to put the prisoners to death; and numbers had actually perished, when it was discovered that the alarm was caused by a body of six hundred peasants, who had entered Maisoncelles and were plundering the baggage. The slaughter was then stopped.* Meantime, the houses in the rear of the French had been set on fire; the third division began to waver; and only six hundred men could be induced to follow their leaders, the counts Falconberg and Marle, in a charge on the English, where they found captivity or death.

The victory was now complete. "To whom," said the king to Montjoy, the French king-at-arms, "to

* Sir James Mackintosh says, that "a greater part of the noble prisoners were slain, mutilated, disfigured, mortally or painfully wounded, before it was discovered that the whole was a false alarm, to which Henry had lent too credulous an ear. He stopped the massacre, but too late for the purity of his name."—*Am. Ed.*

whom doth the victory belong?" "To you, sir," was the reply. "And what castle is that I see at a distance?" "It is called the castle of Azincourt." "Then," said the king, "be this battle known to posterity by the name of the battle of Azincourt." A fatal battle it was to France! Among the slain were the dukes of Brabant, Bar, and Alençon, the constable and admiral of France, seven counts, and more than one hundred bannerets, and eight thousand knights and esquires; and among the prisoners were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and the counts of Eu, Vendome, and Richemont. The loss of the English was but sixteen hundred men, with the Duke of York and Earl of Suffolk. As they crossed the field of battle the next morning on their way to Calais, they killed such of the wounded as were still alive; and, when they were gone, thousands of men and women flocked from the surrounding villages and stripped the dead, leaving them totally naked.

After a short stay at Calais, Henry returned to England, leading his noble captives with him. He was received with enthusiasm in London, where, after the manner of the age, the streets were hung with rich tapestry, curious pageants were exhibited, and the public conduits were made to run sweet wines. The parliament, too, was most liberal in its grants to the triumphant monarch.

The next year, 1416, the Count of Armagnac, who now governed France, as the dauphin was dead, made a vigorous attempt to recover Harfleur, which he besieged by sea and land. But the Duke of Bedford, the king's brother, soon appeared with a numerous fleet, defeated that of the French, and relieved the town. Soon after, King Henry and the Emperor Sigismund (who had visited England, where he formed an alliance with the king) passed over to Calais, and had an interview with the Duke of Burgundy, under the pretext of seeking a remedy for the schism which now existed in the church; but, in reality, to arrange the plan of war against France, where matters were now in the utmost confusion. Armagnac had induced the

imbecile monarch to order the seizure of the treasures of the Queen Isabella of Bavaria, whom he also accused of adultery, and caused to be confined at Tours. Isabella, a woman of a fierce, vindictive spirit, instantly proposed a league to the Duke of Burgundy, whose bitterest enemy she had hitherto been. Her offer was accepted; and the duke, at the head of sixty thousand men, marched towards Paris, taking all the towns in his way. As the Armagnacs held that city, he passed on to Etampes and Chartres; and the queen, as was concerted, having prevailed on her guards to accompany her to a church in the suburbs of Tours, the duke, who was lying with eight hundred men in an adjoining forest, appeared and carried her to Troyes, where she assumed the title of regent, making him her lieutenant.

Meanwhile King Henry had landed in Normandy, on the 1st of August, with an army of sixteen thousand men-at-arms, and an equal number of archers. Fortress after fortress and town after town submitted; Caen was taken by storm; Bayeux by composition; and the campaign closed with the reduction of Falaise. In the spring of 1418, having received a re-enforcement of fifteen thousand men, he divided his forces, and speedily reduced the whole of Lower Normandy. He then proceeded, on the 30th of July, to invest Rouen, the capital of the province;* which, though possessing a brave garrison, after an obstinate defence of nearly six months, was obliged to open its gates.

While the King of England was thus recovering what he regarded as the patrimony of his ancestors, the two parties into which the French were divided thought only of opposing each other. On the night of the 23d of May, one of the gates of Paris was secretly opened to a party of the Burgundians; they were joined by thousands of the citizens; the Count of Armagnac, several ladies and bishops, and lords and members of the parliament, were thrown into prison;

* The population of Rouen is said to have been 200,000 souls. At the present day it is not half that number.

and, on the night of the 12th of June, a mob of sixty thousand persons assembled, broke open the prisons, and massacred all in them, without distinction of sex or rank, and then slaughtered all in the city who were hostile to the Burgundian faction. The present dauphin, the third son of the king, was taken out of bed by a knight named Tannegui du Chastel, wrapped in a sheet, and conveyed away. The queen and duke entered Paris the next day in triumph, where they now exercised the royal authority without opposition. The adverse party retired to Poitiers, and proclaimed the young dauphin regent. Both parties made proposals to Henry; who, as was his interest to do, only sought to play them off against each other. At length the fall of Rouen, on the 13th of January, 1419, awakening them to a sense of their danger, they renewed their negotiations, the dauphin even soliciting a personal interview. But he did not keep his appointment when made; and the duke then proposed an interview between the two kings. It was arranged that Charles should come to Pontoise, and Henry to Mantes. In a plain near Meulant, between these towns, a plot of ground, washed on one side by the Seine and enclosed by palisades on the other three, was marked out for the conference. At a mast which was raised in the centre stood two rich pavilions for the royal parties; and tents were pitched on the right of the enclosure for the attendants of Henry, on the left for those of Charles.

On the appointed day, the 30th of May, the King of France, having an attack of his disorder, could not appear; but in the morning, the queen, the princess, and the Duke of Burgundy came escorted by one thousand horse; and Henry and his brothers of Clarence and Gloucester arrived, followed by one thousand men-at-arms. They met in the centre; the king bowed to the queen and princess, whom he had never seen before; Catharine, who was graceful and beautiful, employed, as instructed by her mother, all her charms on the heart of the king; and when, in spite of his efforts, the queen saw that they had taken ef-

fect, the princess was removed and appeared no more. Henry's demands were Normandy and the provinces ceded by the peace of Bretigni in full sovereignty; the French ministers made no objection; the conferences were extended on one pretext or another for an entire month; and at length Henry discovered that the whole was a feint, and that Burgundy had been meantime negotiating with the dauphin through a lady of the name of De Giac. The two princes met soon after, on the 11th of July, at Melun; and vowed to forget past injuries, and unite their forces against the English. Henry, for the present, could only avenge himself by the surprise and capture of Pontoise.

It would appear that Henry's hopes of the conquest of France were now at an end; yet, ere many months were past, he had gained all he could desire. The duke and dauphin, who still distrusted each other, agreed to a conference at Montereau on the Yonne. They were to meet on the bridge over that river, across which barriers were placed with gates in them. Each entered the intermediate space with ten attendants, on the 10th of September; the duke bent his knee to the dauphin, and was addressing him, when he was struck in the face with a small axe by Tannegui du Chastel, and was despatched by several wounds: one of his followers escaped, another was slain, and the rest were made prisoners. The dauphin constantly denied his previous knowledge of this foul deed; but those who perpetrated it still retained his favour. It, however, ruined his cause: all France was filled with horror and indignation; and the heir of the murdered prince, thinking only of revenge, hastened to conclude a treaty with Henry, the queen engaging that Charles should ratify whatever was arranged. Henry's terms were the hand of the Princess Catharine, the regency during the king's lifetime, and the crown at his death. These terms were at once acceded to. Henry marched at the head of sixteen thousand men-at-arms to Troyes, where the court then was; the "Perpetual Peace," as it was styled, was sworn to on the 21st of May, 1420; the princess

and he were affianced, and, after a short interval, married on the 2d of June; and Henry then, accompanied by his bride, set out to conduct the siege of Sens.

In the winter the two kings returned to Paris, where the states-general met, and gave their approbation to the treaty. Henry then, in 1421, conducted his lovely bride to England; and she was there crowned with a magnificence before unknown. While the king remained in England, his brother of Clarence, whom he had left in command in Normandy, made an irruption into Anjou, which adhered to the dauphin. The Marshal La Fayette assembled what troops he could; among which were seven thousand Scots, under the Earl of Buchan, the regent's son. Clarence, advancing with only his men-at-arms, fell in with them on the 22d of March, at a place named Beaujé; and, being greatly outnumbered, his force was utterly routed; twelve hundred being slain, and three hundred made prisoners. The duke himself was wounded by Sir William Swynton, and then slain by Buchan, whom the dauphin for this victory made Constable of France. On the news of this disaster, Henry returned without delay to France on the 20th of June, with four thousand men-at-arms and twenty-four thousand archers, and accompanied by the young king of Scotland, whose presence he hoped would operate on the allegiance of the Scots in the French service. He drove the dauphin from Chartres, and forced him to take refuge in Bourges; then returning to Paris to gratify the Parisians, he laid siege to Meaux, which he reduced after a siege of five months; and now all France north of the Loire, except Anjou and Maine, obeyed him.

To crown his happiness, his queen, who had given birth to a son, came over with her infant to join him. The two courts met at Paris to keep Whitsuntide, which was celebrated with the utmost magnificence. But this was the last of the glories of King Henry. A fatal disease was secretly preying on him; and, on his march to raise the siege of Cosne, he found himself so unwell on the 30th of July, that he was obliged

to resign the command to the Duke of Bedford, and return to Vincennes. He was soon aware that recovery was hopeless. The infancy of his son gave him uneasiness; and, on the day of his death (August 31), he strongly recommended his queen and her child to his brother of Bedford and his other nobles. He advised them to cultivate the friendship of the Duke of Burgundy, to offer him the regency of France, and never to release the princes taken at Azincourt: and he charged them, in the worst of cases, not to make peace unless Normandy was ceded to the crown of England. A few hours after he breathed his last, with the utmost resignation. He was only in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

This great prince was justly a favourite with his people.* He was handsome in person and affable in manners. His valour was undoubted; and it was united with skill and prudence. In the pursuit of his unfounded claim to the crown of France, he was as conspicuous in the capacity of the statesman as in that of the warrior.

The queen-dowager, Catharine, afterward married Sir Owen Tudor, a gentleman of Wales. They had two sons: Edmund, created earl of Richmond, and Jasper, earl of Pembroke. As we proceed, we shall behold their descendants seated on the throne of England.

* Mankind, in all ages, have been strangely dazzled and captivated by the glare of military renown, and doubtless the English were intoxicated with the fame of their victorious monarch; but it would be difficult to point out any qualities of substantial goodness in his character, which might justly claim for him the regard of his people while living, or their affectionate remembrance of him when dead. In speaking of the funeral honours accorded to this prince, Sir James Mackintosh says that "his remains were interred at Westminster with unwonted pomp, amid the *undue and unreasonable* regrets of a populace drunk with victory."—*Am. Ed.*

CHAPTER XI.

HENRY VI.*

1422-1461.

Affairs of France and England.—Battle of Verneuil.—Siege of Orleans.—Battle of the Herrings.—Joan of Arc; her Cruel Death.—Losses of the English.—The King's Marriage.—Death of the Duke of Gloucester; of Cardinal Beaufort.—Accusation of Suffolk; his Death.—Jack Cade.—The Duke of York.—Battle of St. Alban's.—War of the Roses.—Battle of Blore Heath.—York declared Heir to the Crown.—Battle of Wakefield; of Mortimer's Cross.

A MINORITY for the fourth time appears in the royal line of England, the new monarch being an infant only nine months old. The English parliament, regardless of the wishes of the late king, refused the Duke of Gloucester the title and authority of regent. A council of regency was appointed, with the Duke of Bedford (and, during his absence, the Duke of Gloucester) at its head, under the title of Protector; and the parliament then dissolved.

The Duke of Burgundy having declined the regency of France, it was conferred on the Duke of Bedford by King Charles. This imbecile monarch followed his gallant son-in-law to the grave within two months; and his death seriously affected the English interest, by withdrawing from it the semblance of royal authority, which it had hitherto possessed. The dauphin forthwith assumed the regal title as Charles VII., and was crowned and anointed at Chartres. Bedford, who equalled his late brother in ability and valour, and surpassed him in manners, sought by every means to attach the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany;

* Authorities: Monstrelet, Wyrcestre, Whethamstede, Cont. of Croyland, Hardyng, Fenn's Paston Letters. The English chroniclers Fabyan, Hall, &c., now begin to be authorities.

and, at a conference held at Arras, the three princes bound themselves to each other by oaths, cemented by the marriage of the dukes of Bedford and Brittany to the sisters of the Duke of Burgundy. The war in France was continued. Bedford occupied himself, in 1423, in reducing such towns and castles in the north as still held out. An army of French and Scots formed the siege of Crevent on the Yonne; and the Earl of Salisbury joined the Burgundians and led his troops to its relief. The English forced the passage of the bridge on the 31st of July, the Burgundians followed, and the enemy were totally defeated; their two commanders, the Constable of Scotland and the Count of Ventadour, being made prisoners. The capture of La Charité, on the Loire, opened a passage into the southern provinces.

As the Scottish government had lately sent Charles a re-enforcement of five thousand men, under Earl Douglas, and it was feared that they might invade the north of England, the English ministry at this time offered King James his liberty, on condition of his paying £40,000 (\$192,000) for the expenses of his nineteen years' captivity, and forbidding his subjects to enter the service of France. These terms were agreed to; and James, having espoused an English lady of high descent, to whom he had long been betrothed, returned to his native kingdom, where he proved the ablest and best monarch that Scotland had ever possessed.

In the next campaign, in 1424, the Duke of Bedford, with two thousand men-at-arms and seven thousand archers, laid siege to Yvri in Normandy, where the garrison had raised the standard of Charles. The Constable of France, with an army of eighteen thousand men, came to his relief; but, despairing of success, he turned aside and surprised Verneuil. The Duke of Bedford advanced to attack the enemy on the 17th of August, who did not refuse the combat. The English men-at-arms formed one compact mass, with the archers, protected by their stakes, on the flanks. A body of two thousand archers were set to

guard the horses and the baggage in the rear ; and they fastened the horses together by their heads and tails, and mixed them through the baggage so as to form an insuperable barrier. After the battle had lasted for an hour, without any advantage on either side, a body of French and Italian cavalry fell on the baggage ; but, unable to penetrate it, they stood as marks for the arrows of the archers, who, when they had slain or driven them off, ran to the front, and with a shout fell on the enemy. This decided the battle : the French fled, with a loss of three thousand men ; and sixteen hundred of the victors lay on the plain. The Constable of France, his countryman Earl Douglas and his son, and other nobles, were among the slain : the Duke of Alençon and two hundred gentlemen were made prisoners.

The victory of Verneuil was productive of no consequences of importance : the blame has been laid on the ambition of the Duke of Gloucester. Jacqueline, heiress of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, having been married to John, dauphin of France, was, on his death, married to her cousin-german the Duke of Brabant ; a weak-minded youth only in his sixteenth year. Jacqueline, a woman of masculine spirit, soon learned to despise her feeble helpmate ; and at length, in 1420, she left him and repaired to England, where the Duke of Gloucester, smitten with the charms of herself and her heritage, sought her hand. After the death of Henry V. he openly espoused her ; alleging that her marriage with her cousin was void, though the Council of Constance had granted a dispensation. The Duke of Burgundy, who was cousin to the Duke of Brabant, was highly offended ; and the Duke of Bedford was in the utmost perplexity. It was proposed to leave the matter to the pope ; but Gloucester refused ; and, at the head of five thousand men, took possession of Hainault in 1425. The Duke of Burgundy sent aid to his cousin ; and a challenge passed between him and Gloucester, but the duel did not take place. Gloucester returned to England, leaving Jacqueline at Mons. She was

obliged to surrender, and was conducted to Ghent, whence she made her escape in man's attire, and fled to Holland, where she maintained the war for two years ; but at length, in 1428, was obliged to submit to the Duke of Burgundy. Gloucester, in the mean time, seems to have given up all thoughts of her ; for he married Eleanor, daughter of Lord Cobham.

Gloucester also caused his brother much uneasiness by his quarrels with their uncle, Henry Beaufort, the bishop of Winchester. This ambitious prelate was second son of John of Gaunt by Catharine Swynford ; and he held the high office of chancellor. Bedford was obliged to come over to England in 1426, to effect an apparent reconciliation between them. The following year the prelate received a cardinal's hat from Rome.

For three years, owing to the want of means on both sides, the war had languished in France. Meantime the Duke of Brittany had yielded to the instances of his brother, the Count of Richemont, whom Charles had made constable of France, and began to separate himself from his English alliance. Bedford immediately poured his troops into Brittany, defeated the Bretons everywhere, and soon forced the duke to renew his engagements. On his return to Paris in 1428, several councils were held ; and it was resolved, contrary, it is said, to the opinion of the regent, to carry the war beyond the Loire. The campaign was to be opened by the siege of Orleans, a strong, well-garrisoned city on the right bank of that river. The English army of ten thousand men, under the Earl of Salisbury, one of their ablest generals, crossed the Loire, and, on the 23d of October, carried by assault the Tournelles, or castle which defended the bridge on the left bank ; but the garrison had broken down one of the arches ; and a few days after, as Salisbury was looking out from one of the windows of the Tournelles, he was struck in the face by a shot from the ramparts, and died of his wound. The command then devolved on the Earl of Suffolk ; reinforcements arrived, and bastilles, or huts defended

by intrenchments, were constructed round the city : but the spaces between them were so great, on account of the extent of the walls, that the enemy, who had large magazines at Blois, found little difficulty in conveying in supplies.

In the beginning of Lent, in 1429, Sir John Falstaff set out from Paris, with fifteen hundred men and four hundred wagons, laden with salt herrings and other provisions, for the besiegers. At the village of Roveray, on the 12th of February, he learned that the Earl of Clermont was advancing, with from four to five thousand horse, to intercept him. He halted, and formed round his men a circle of the wagons, leaving but two openings, each guarded by a strong body of archers. The commander of the Scots in the French army advised that the men-at-arms should dismount : Clermont refused ; and it was finally agreed that each might do as he pleased. Before day the attack was made ; the English arrows flew with their usual effect, and, ere long, the enemy fled, leaving six hundred men slain. After this "Battle of the Herrings," as it was named, Falstaff reached the camp in safety. Lines were now run from bastille to bastille, and the town was completely shut in. The besieged offered to surrender the town into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy ; but the regent insisted on its being given up to the English, who had won it with their blood.

The fate of Orleans now seemed decided ; a general gloom overspread the French court, and Charles even meditated flight into Spain or Scotland ; but his mistress, Agnes Sorel, it is said, recalled him to more manly thoughts ; and at length one of the most extraordinary persons mentioned in history came to raise the fallen fortunes of France.

In the small hamlet of Domremy, in Champagne, dwelt a peasant named Jacques d'Arc, among whose children was a daughter whose name was Joan. The character of this maiden was stainless ; and she was remarkable for her piety and serious cast of thought. The misfortunes of her king and country made a

strong impression on her mind, and incessant solitary brooding soon produced imaginary visions. She fancied that the saints Margaret and Catharine used to appear to her, and urge her to undertake the defence of her country. She addressed herself to Baudricourt, lord of the neighbouring town of Vaucouleur, requiring to be sent to the dauphin, as she was appointed by Heaven to crown him. Baudricourt laughed at her pretensions; but afterward, either believing in her mission, or seeing the advantage that might be derived from it, he sent her with a small retinue to Chinon, where the court resided. Joan appeared, clad in man's attire. After some delay, she was admitted to the presence of the king, whom she assured that she was sent by Heaven to raise the siege of Orleans, and to conduct him to Rheims to be crowned. It is added, that, though she had never before seen the king, she recognised him at once among his courtiers; that she told him secrets known only to himself, and described and claimed a sword in the church of St. Catharine of Fierbois, whose very existence had been forgotten. She was examined by a council of lawyers and divines at Poitiers, who pronounced her inspired. Mounted on a stately gray charger, which she managed with a dexterity acquired in her village (but which, to those who knew not her origin, appeared miraculous), and preceded by a banner, in which the Deity was represented as a venerable old man, bearing a globe in his hand, and surrounded by fleurs-de-lis, the Maid was exhibited to the people, whose joy and enthusiasm knew no bounds. Care at the same time was taken that the most exaggerated accounts of the Heaven-sent deliverer should reach the English camp; where, in despite of the efforts of Suffolk and his officers, a secret terror soon began to pervade the minds of the soldiers.*

* Doubtless the same superstition which gave fresh courage to the French was scarcely less effectual in dispiriting their adversaries. The belief in miracles was almost universal in that age. "The English at first," says Russel, "affected to speak with derision of the Maid and her heavenly commission; but their

As want was now felt in Orleans, a large supply of provisions was collected at Blois, to be sent thither under a convoy of seven thousand men, led by the able La Hire. Joan repaired thither, ordered the soldiers to confess themselves, and banished from the camp all the women of loose life. At the same time she wrote to Suffolk, ordering him, in the Divine name, to raise the siege. La Hire embarked the provisions in boats; his troops, headed by the Maid, bearing her sacred banner, marched along the bank to protect them; a sally from the town distracted the attention of the English, and the Maid and the stores entered Orleans unopposed. A few days after she headed a party of volunteers, and attacked and carried two of the bastilles. She then assailed the Tournelles; and, after an assault of fourteen hours, during which she was wounded in the neck, that fortress was carried. The hopes of the English now completely expired; and at dawn the next day, the 8th of May, they set fire to their line of forts, and departed from before Orleans.

The Earl of Suffolk was now besieged for ten days in Jargeau, whither he had retired. The Maid headed the attack and scaled the wall; a stone struck her on the head, and she fell down into the ditch. "On! on! my countrymen," cried she, as she lay; "fear naught; the Lord hath delivered them into our hands." An unguarded place was discovered; the French rushed in, part of the garrison were slain, and the rest made prisoners. "Are you a knight?" said Suffolk to the officer who demanded his sword. He replied in the negative. "Then," said the earl, "I make you one;" and he gave him the blow of knight-hood with his sword, which he then surrendered. Melun and other fortresses opened their gates, and

imagination was secretly struck with the strong persuasion which prevailed in all around them. They found their courage daunted by degrees, and thence began to infer a Divine vengeance hanging over them. A silent astonishment reigned among those troops, formerly so elated with victory and so fierce for the combat."—*Russell's Modern Europe*, i., 280, Harpers' edition.—*Am. Ed.*

Lord Talbot led the dispirited remains of the English army towards Paris ; but at Patay he was overtaken by the French. Falstaff advised a retreat ; but Talbot disdained to show his back to an enemy. The English, however, made but a feeble stand : twelve hundred men were slain, and Talbot and Lord Scales were made prisoners. Falstaff, who had fled in the beginning, was deprived of the order of the garter ; but, on his proving to the regent that it was little short of madness to fight at Patay, his honours were restored.

The heroic Maid of Orleans, as she was now named, had performed the first part of her mission. She now urged the king to set out for Rheims, that the whole might be fulfilled ; and, though all the intermediate country was in the hands of the English and Burgundians, Charles and his ministers resolved to hearken to her. Attended by ten thousand horse, the king set forth. At Auxerre, the people, though they feared to open their gates, supplied him with provisions ; Troyes and Chalons readily received him ; and the people of Rheims expelled their Burgundian garrison. The holy oil, brought, as the legend told, by a dove from heaven to the coronation of Clovis, the founder of the monarchy, sanctified him, on the 17th of July, in the eyes of his people ; and then the Maid, who held her banner at his side, fell on her knees, and, declaring her mission ended, craved with tears to be dismissed. But, unhappily for her, her farther presence was deemed of too much importance. She was induced to remain ; and a patent of nobility for herself and her family, with a pension equal to the income of a count, was conferred on her.

The Duke of Bedford was now in a condition of great difficulty. He could obtain neither men nor money from home, and disaffection was spreading all around him. Yet his abilities rose superior to his difficulties : he kept the Duke of Burgundy steady ; and, having prevailed on the Cardinal of Winchester to lend him five thousand men, whom he was leading on a crusade against the Hussites of Bohemia, he advanced

to engage King Charles. The armies came in view near Senlis ; but the French, though greatly superior in number, thought on Azincourt and Verneuil, and feared to engage. Bedford withdrew to Normandy, and Charles then advanced on Paris. An attack was made on the Fauxbourg of St. Honoré on the 12th of September, in which the Maid was wounded, and lay unnoticed in the ditch till the evening, when she was found by a party sent in quest of her. Charles then returned to Bourges for the winter.

The following spring, 1430, the Duke of Burgundy laid siege to Compeigne. A force, led by the Maid, advanced to its relief. On her way she routed a Burgundian corps ; and she surprised the post of Marigni on the 25th of May ; but, re-enforcements arriving, she was forced to retire. In the retreat she repeatedly faced about on her pursuers ; but at length an archer seized and dragged her off her horse. She surrendered to the bastard of Vendôme, by whom she was conducted to John of Luxembourg, who commanded the army. The greatest rejoicings were made for her capture ; solemn *Te Deum* was sung at Paris ; and Bedford purchased her at a large price from her captors.

The Bishop of Beauvais, a creature of the English, forthwith claimed a right to try her for sorcery and imposture, as she was taken in his diocese ; and the University of Paris also demanded her trial. She was removed to Rouen, where a commission of prelates, among whom the Cardinal of Winchester alone was English, aided by the inquisitor-general, assembled to try her. She was produced before them on the 12th of February, 1431, in her male attire, and laden with chains, from which she prayed to be relieved. But, as she had already attempted to escape, and declared she would do so again, her request was refused. She was brought sixteen times before the court ; answered all the questions put to her calmly and firmly ; maintained the reality of her visions, and the truth of her mission ; and was condemned as a heretic, and sentenced to be delivered over to the secular arm.

The natural love of life then operated in her bosom, and she was induced to recant. She owned that her visions were illusions of the devil, and swore never again to wear man's attire. Her sentence then was commuted to perpetual imprisonment. But in her dungeon her visions returned; or, as it is said, her enemies left men's clothes in her cell, and, being tempted at the sight to put them on, she was caught in them; and, as now guilty of a relapse, she was delivered over to the secular arm on the 30th of May, in that form of mockery and insult which had been devised for such occasions. She was led to the market-place, where the pile was formed. When the fire was kindled she uttered loud exclamations; and, as the flames enveloped her, she was seen embracing a crucifix, and calling on Christ for mercy.

Thus perished, in the twentieth year of her age, the heroic Maid of Orleans; to whom, as an English historian remarks, "the superstition of the ancients would have erected altars." She perished, the victim of national enmity and a sanguinary superstition. In excuse for her judges and enemies can only be alleged the general belief in sorcery,* in which they may have shared:† but for the heartless neglect of her by the French king and his nobles, after she had served their purpose, no excuse can be offered. Posterity has done justice to the noble Maid; and by none

* The tragical delusion, known under the name of "the Salem witchcraft," has been frequently referred to by way of reproach to our New-England forefathers. But then it should in charity be recollected, that the belief in such diabolical agency was then common throughout the Christian world; and it has been estimated, that not less than one hundred thousand persons of both sexes miserably perished, in Germany alone, under the charge of witchcraft. Sir James Mackintosh, in treating of this period of English history, says, that "both the accusers of the Maid of Orleans and all others at that time believed in the reality of sorcery; and that the most important lesson taught by the event is the value of that knowledge, the fruit of free inquiry and fearless reflection, which has banished such imaginary crimes from the civilized world."—*Am. Ed.*

† Bedford, in one of his letters, calls her "a disciple and lyme [limb] of the fiende, that used false enchauntments and sorcerie."

are her virtues more freely acknowledged or more warmly eulogized, and her hard fate more sincerely deplored, than by the descendants of those whom she deprived of dominion in France, and who, in their ignorance and bigotry, were the authors of her death.

The execution of the Maid produced none of the good effects expected from it ; and of as little effect was the coronation of the young king at Paris on the 17th of December. The petty warfare to which the want of means confined both parties, was mostly to the disadvantage of the English. The death of the Duchess of Bedford in 1432, weakened the ties between the dukes of Burgundy and Bedford ; and the precipitate union of the latter, in the following year, with Jacquette of Luxembourg, a vassal of the former, greatly widened the breach. Burgundy began to listen to proposals for an accommodation with his sovereign ; but, as he had sworn not to make peace without the consent of the English, a congress for a general pacification, under the mediation of the pope, was proposed to be held at Arras. This congress met in 1435 ; but, either from the high demands of the English, or because it was not wished to conciliate them, all their proposals were rejected. The Cardinal of Winchester and the other English ministers withdrew, and peace was then made between the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy. To add to the ill fortune of the English, the great Duke of Bedford died at Rouen on the 14th of September, while the congress was sitting at Arras.

Bedford was succeeded by the Duke of York ; but, ere he arrived, the Parisians had admitted the French troops into their city ; and Lord Willoughby, the governor, having retired into the Bastile, was there forced to surrender. Lord Talbot sustained, on various occasions, the fame of the English arms ; and when the Duke of Burgundy was induced to declare against his former allies, and laid siege to Calais in 1436, the Duke of Gloucester forced him to retire ; and the following year the brave Talbot obliged him to raise the siege of Crotoi. A dreadful famine and pestilence

then ravaged both countries during two successive years. In 1440 the Constable of France took the city of Meaux, while Talbot and the Earl of Somerset recovered Harfleur, which the French had taken eight years before. The next event of importance was the capture of Pontoise, by Charles in person, in 1441. During the two succeeding years the war was prosecuted both in the north and south; but nothing decisive occurred. Negotiations were then set on foot; and at length, in 1444, an armistice was concluded for two years.

Having briefly traced thus far the events of the war in France, we now return to the internal history of England.

As the young king advanced in years, he developed a character the very opposite to that of his father. He was mild and serious, but of so slender a capacity and so feeble a temper, that it was evident he would never be able to govern himself, much less to rule a great kingdom; and that he would be nothing more than a mere puppet in the hands of others. The court and parliament were divided into the factions of the cardinal and his nephew: the former ambitious, avaricious, and intriguing; the latter generous, open, and impetuous. The great wealth which the cardinal had amassed, enabled him to gain the favour of the needy king by making him loans of money; and his influence visibly predominated over that of Gloucester. He was the advocate of peace with France; which Gloucester, filled with ideas of the glory acquired in the late reign, strenuously opposed. The question of the liberation of the Duke of Orleans (one of the princes taken at Azincourt) tried the strength of the two parties in 1439; but the arguments and the opposition of Gloucester proved unavailing. He then stated his reasons, in a detailed protest on the rolls of chancery; and he entered his barge, to avoid being present when that prince was taking the oaths not to act against England.

About two years after, in 1441, the Duchess of Gloucester was accused of treason and sorcery. The

charge was, that, with the aid of Roger Bolingbroke, one of the duke's chaplains (who was said to deal in the black art), and Margery Jourdain, the witch of Eye, she had made a waxen image of the king, to whom the duke was next heir, which was exposed to a gentle heat : for, according to the rules of magic, as it melted away the king's health and strength would decay. She owned having applied to the witch for love-potions to secure the affections of her husband, and having directed Bolingbroke to calculate the duration of the king's life. The result was, that Bolingbroke and Southwell, a canon of St. Paul's, were found guilty of treason ; the latter died in prison, and the former was executed. The witch was burned as a relapsed heretic ; and the duchess, after being made to walk three several times through the city without a hood, and bearing a lighted taper, was consigned for life to the custody of Sir John Stanley. It is probable enough that the charges made against the duchess were true. We have no direct proof that the cardinal had any concern in the business ; but it is scarcely credible that any but the powerful faction of which he was the head, would have ventured to offer so dire an insult to the first prince of the blood.

The marriage of the young king, who was now three-and-twenty, next came under consideration. It was proposed to match him with a daughter of the Count of Armagnac, whose territories bordered on Guienne ; but this project, which had the full approval of Gloucester, was counteracted by Pole, earl of Suffolk ; and Charles, hearing of it, made the count and his family prisoners. The cardinal and his party then cast their eyes on Margaret, daughter of René, titular king of Jerusalem and Sicily, and duke of Anjou, Maine, and Bar ; a woman of great beauty and accomplishments, and of masculine energy of mind. That she would absolutely rule the feeble king was not to be doubted ; and, as she was nearly related to Charles, who had always shown much regard for her, it was perhaps hoped that she would be the means of procuring an honourable peace. Suffolk was sent

over to negotiate the match; and, of his own authority, he not merely consented that the princess should be taken without dower (a thing, of course, to be expected, as René was but a royal pauper), but actually agreed that Anjou and Maine, which the English still held, should be restored to him: that is, in effect, given up to the King of France. On Suffolk's return, the majority of the council sanctioned what he had done; and he was created a marquis, and sent back to espouse the princess as his royal master's proxy, and conduct her to England. Henry met and married her at Titchfield; and she was crowned, with great magnificence, at Westminster, on the 30th of May, 1445.

The absolute power of Margaret over her husband was soon apparent. Suffolk naturally stood high in her favour; and, united with the cardinal and his nephew, the Duke of Somerset, they overbore all opposition and ruled the kingdom. We are in ignorance of the details of affairs for nearly two years; but, on the 10th of February, 1447, a parliament met by summons at Bury St. Edmund's, to which the knights of the shire were directed to repair in arms; guards were placed round the king's residence; and the men of Suffolk were arrayed. Gloucester came from his castle at Devizes; on the second day, the 11th, he was arrested on a charge of high treason; and on the 28th he was found dead in his bed. His death was ascribed to apoplexy or chagrin by those who maintained that it was natural:* others, however, asserted that he had been murdered. His body, as with Edward II., Richard II., and Thomas of Gloucester, was exposed to public view; but these we know were all murdered. Certain it is, that, at the present day and in free countries, state-prisoners do not die thus suddenly and opportunely. It is remarkable that a great part of his estates went to Suffolk, and his relatives and friends; and that, even before his death, his county of Pembroke had been granted to that noble-

* This was the belief of Whethamstede, abbot of St. Alban's, who was very partial to the duke.

man in case of his dying without issue. If he was murdered, Suffolk beyond doubt was guilty : his death, as the chronicler says, may have been "not unprocured" by the cardinal, and not unapproved by the young queen. The unhappy duchess was refused her dower. Five gentlemen of the duke's household were also sentenced to death, as sharers in his treasons. They were hung up, but immediately cut down and marked for quartering ; when Suffolk, who was present, announced the king's pardon, and their lives were preserved.

The Duke of Gloucester was generally lamented ; and the memory of the "Good Duke Humphrey," as he was called, was long cherished. This prince had been honourably distinguished by his patronage of letters. His death, as we shall see, proved the ruin of the house of Lancaster, by opening a field to the ambition of a rival family.

The cardinal, whether guilty or innocent, followed his nephew to the grave within six weeks ; lamenting, we are told, that money could not purchase life, and that he should be thus cut off, when, Gloucester being removed, he had hopes of the papal crown. It seems no doubt strange that such a notion should be entertained by a man eighty years old, and with a mortal disease on him ; but both public and private life yield abundant instances of similar fatuity. It is curious that, somewhat like the Emperor Charles V., he caused his obsequies to be celebrated in his presence a short time before he died. The character of this prelate is thus drawn by the chronicler Hall : "More noble of blood than notable in learning, haut of stomach and high in countenance, rich above measure of all men and to few liberal, disdainful to his kin and dreadful to his lovers, preferring money before friendship, many things beginning and nothing performing."

The surrender of Maine and Anjou, the keys of Normandy, was speedily followed by the loss of that great province : town after town and castle after castle opened their gates or were taken by assault. The

French troops were then led into Guienne ; no resistance was offered ; and at length, in 1451, Calais alone remained of all the English conquests and possessions in France.

The popular indignation in England was high, and was chiefly directed against the favourite Suffolk, now a duke. Moleyns, the bishop of Chichester, who had had the inglorious task of delivering up Maine to the French, was slain in a popular commotion at Portsmouth in 1450 ; and it was said that, before his death, he declared that Suffolk was a traitor, and had sold Maine to the French ; and that he had boasted of having as much influence in their councils as in the English. Suffolk resolved to anticipate the stroke that he saw was aimed at him. When parliament met, on the 22d of January, he rose, and, addressing the king, said that his father* and his four brothers had lost their lives in the royal service in France ; that he himself had served the king thirty-four years in arms ; that he had been fifteen years a member of the king's council ; that he had been born in England, where all his inheritance lay ; and that, therefore, it was absurd to suppose he could be a traitor. He then required, that any one who would make a charge against him should come forward and do so openly.

A few days after, on the 28th, the commons having charged him with supplying his castle of Wallingford with provisions and stores, for the purpose of aiding the King of France, he was committed to the Tower. Ten days later, eight articles of impeachment were exhibited against him, of which the first and chief was that of having a design to set the crown, with the aid of the French king, on the head of his own son, whom he had married to the heiress of the late Duke of Somerset, "presuming her to be the next inheritable to the crown." After a month's delay, on the 7th of March, the commons (probably aware of the futility of these articles) sent up sixteen new ones : charging him with embezzling the public money, advising the

* See above, p. 49.

king to make improvident grants, giving office to improper persons, procuring pardons for traitors, etc. In his defence he treated the first article as ridiculous : since, as many peers then present well knew, he had intended to marry his son to a daughter of the Earl of Warwick ; and as to the cession of Maine and Anjou, he declared he was no more guilty (if it was a crime) than the other lords of the council or of parliament. The other charges, he said, were frivolous and vexatious. Of the second set of articles he took no notice.

As the commons seemed bent on his ruin, the following expedient was adopted to save him. The king, on his own authority, pronouncing him neither guilty nor innocent of treason, commanded him, on the second impeachment, to quit the kingdom for the space of five years. The parliament was then prorogued. The life of the duke was openly threatened, and two thousand people met in St. Giles's fields to intercept him : he, however, escaped down to his estates in Suffolk ; and, on the appointed day, the 30th of April, he sailed from Ipswich with two small vessels. He sent a boat into Calais, to know if he might land there ; but the boat was detained, and the Nicholas of the Tower (a large vessel of the state, carrying a hundred and fifty men) came alongside of his bark and ordered him on board. "Welcome, traitor, as men say," cried the captain, as he came on deck. He remained two nights in the Nicholas, his confessor being with him. He was put to a mock trial before the sailors, and condemned to death ; and, on the second morning, a small boat with a block, a rusty sword, and an executioner, came alongside. The duke was lowered into it, and his head was severed from his body at the sixth blow. His body was placed on the sands at Dover, where it was watched by the sheriff of Kent, till it was delivered to his widow by the king's order. No inquiry was instituted into this murder, as the parties who had planned and executed it were probably too powerful to be brought to justice.

The popular discontent, caused by the feebleness and corruption of the government and the disasters in France, and perhaps secretly excited by the partisans of the house of York, had already broken out in several places. But, immediately after the murder of Suffolk, a body of twenty thousand Ketishmen, led by a person of uncertain rank and origin,* who was named John Cade, but assumed the name of Mortimer, appeared in arms at Blackheath on the 17th of June. Two papers, headed "The Complaints of the Commons of Kent," and "The Requests of the Captain of the Great Assembly in Kent," were forwarded to the king. These contained sundry complaints of oppressive government; and concluded by requiring that the relatives of Suffolk should be banished from the court, and the dukes of York and Exeter, and some others who were named, called to the king's councils; that those who had caused the deaths of the Duke of Gloucester, Cardinal Beaufort, and the dukes of Exeter and Warwick, and occasioned the loss of the dominions in France, should be punished; that all extortions should be abolished, and the great extortioners brought to justice.

The king having collected a force, the insurgents retired; but when Sir Humphrey Stafford came up with them at Sevenoaks, on the 24th, with a part of the royal forces, they turned, and defeated and slew him. Cade then arrayed himself in the fallen knight's armour, and led his men back to Blackheath. The king, finding his men not inclined to fight, disbanded them and retired to Kenilworth, Lord Scales, with one thousand men, undertaking the defence of the Tower. Cade then advanced to Southwark on the 1st of July; and, as the citizens had resolved to make no resistance, he entered the city in triumph on the third, giving strict orders to his men not to pillage, and in the evening he led them back to Southwark.

* He was said to have been an Irishman. In a letter written at this time he is called Mr. John Aylmere, physician. See Mackintosh, ii., p. 20, Harpers' edition. Ellis's Letters, i., 112, second series, contemporary document.

Next day, the 4th, he returned ; and, having obliged the mayor and judges to sit at Guildhall, arraigned before them Lord Say, the royal chamberlain, who, having vainly pleaded his privileges as a peer, was beheaded at the Standard in Cheapside ; and his son-in-law Cromer, the sheriff of Kent, shared his fate.

Some pillage having been committed on the third day, the citizens grew apprehensive ; and they agreed to join Lord Scales in defending the bridge. A conflict ensued during the night ; and the bridge was taken and retaken several times, but finally remained in the hands of the citizens. A short truce ensued on the 6th, during which the two archbishops, who were in the Tower, sent the Bishop of Winchester over the river, with pardons for those who would return to their homes. The pardons were gladly accepted, and the insurgents dispersed. But Cade soon repented, and collected more men. As their numbers, however, were not great, they retired from Southwark ; and, quarrelling on the way, their leader left them and fled towards Lewes, pursued by Iden, the sheriff of Kent, who slew him on the 9th, in a garden, after an obstinate defence. Iden received a reward of 1000 marks (\$3200) ; and several of the insurgents were afterward executed as traitors, some of whom, it is said, confessed that it had been their intention to place the Duke of York on the throne.

The Duke of York was now in Ireland, the government of which country had been given to him when he was deprived of that of Normandy, which he had held for some years, in order to gratify the Duke of Somerset, who coveted it. But the measures of this nobleman had been uniformly unfortunate ; and his surrender of Caen, which belonged to the Duke of York, had exasperated the mind of that prince against him. The queen's party resolved to oppose Somerset to the Duke of York. The latter, aware of their machinations, suddenly left Ireland, and proceeded to his castle at Dudlow, on the marches of Wales ; and, having assembled his retainers, set out for London, which he reached at the head of four thousand men,

though a force under Lord Lisle was sent to intercept him. He went to Westminster, knelt before the king, complained of the state of the kingdom, and implored him to summon a parliament. The king promised to do so; and the duke then retired to his Castle of Fotheringay on the 30th of September. Somerset returned to England in the following month, at the desire of the queen and her party.

When parliament met on the 6th of November, York and Somerset accused each other; and a bill at the same time passed the commons, to attain the memory of the late Duke of Suffolk, and to remove from the court the Duchess of Suffolk, the Duke of Somerset, and some other lords. The king, as instructed, refused his assent; and the duchess and some others, having demanded a trial, were tried and acquitted. For some months altercations in parliament, and acts of violence out of it, succeeded. At length, the Duke of York repaired to his castle of Ludlow, and raised the tenants of the house of Mortimer. He marched towards London in 1452, demanding a reformation of the government and the removal of Somerset. Finding the gates of the city closed against him, he turned into Kent. The king followed at the head of a superior force, and the duke encamped at Dartford, and the king at Blackheath. A parley ensued; Somerset was placed under arrest, and York dismissed his army; and, on the 1st of March, he visited the king in his tent, unarmed. Here, as he renewed his charges against Somerset, that nobleman stepped out from behind a curtain and offered to maintain his innocence; and York, as he retired, was arrested and carried to London. Somerset advised an instant trial and execution; but the king was averse from blood, and the news of the approach of York's son, the Earl of March, with an army, intimidated the council. The duke was dismissed on renewing his oath of fealty, and retired to his castle of Wigmore.

In the autumn of this year, the Gascons, weary of their new masters, and finding the demand for their

wines in England on the decline, sent over a deputation, offering to return to their allegiance. The venerable Talbot, now Earl of Shrewsbury, was sent with a force of four thousand men; and his son, Lord Lisle, followed with an equal number. The whole Bordelais, with Chatillon in Perigord, submitted before the winter. The next year, 1453, the Count of Penthievre invested Chatillon with twenty-five thousand men. Talbot hastened to its relief; and the French retired to an intrenched camp, defended by three hundred pieces of cannon. Talbot ordered an assault on the 20th of July. In the action his horse was killed under him, and his leg was broken; and, as he lay, he was slain with a bayonet, while his son lost his life in attempting to rescue him, and the army dispersed and fled. Bordeaux, defended by six thousand citizens and four thousand English, held out till famine compelled it to surrender. The English were permitted to depart with their property, the citizens were received to favour, and Guienne was lost for ever to England.

Though this loss was a real gain, it was not so considered by the nation; and it augmented the odium under which the queen and her party lay. The birth of a prince, however, on the 13th of October, extinguished the hopes which the Duke of York had entertained of a peaceable succession; and, instead of lightening, only darkened the political horizon. It was openly said by the people that he was not the king's son: "his noble mother," says the chronicler, "sustained not a little disclauder of the common people." The duke, however, was too moderate to take any direct advantage of such rumours; and, had his enemies been equally so, the subsequent disasters might perhaps have been averted. Unfortunately for the queen's party, the king, soon after the birth of the prince, fell into such a state of bodily as well as mental debility, that he could no longer be made to enact the royal pageant with any propriety. This caused the return of the Duke of York to the cabinet, and Somerset was speedily committed to the Tower. Early

in the following year, 1454, a committee of the peers having ascertained the total incapacity of the king, York was appointed "Protector of the Church and Kingdom" till the king should recover or the prince be of age.

On the following Christmas, however, the king having shown some glimpse of reason, advantage was taken of it to make him resume his authority; and he forthwith deprived York of the protectorate, and released Somerset, and restored him to favour. York retired to his estates; and soon after, being joined by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Salisbury, and his son the Earl of Warwick, he advanced towards London at the head of three thousand men. The royal phantom moved to meet them with a force of about two thousand men, and had only proceeded as far as St. Alban's, when, on the 22d of May, the banners of the Yorkists were seen. The Duke of Buckingham being sent to demand the cause of their appearance in arms, they replied by professions of the utmost loyalty, but required that Somerset and his associates should be given up to them as prisoners. Henry was made to return a stern reply; commanding them to disperse, and declaring his resolution to die rather than surrender any lord who was faithful to him. York forthwith assaulted the barriers, which were gallantly defended by Lord Clifford. Warwick, in the mean time, forced his way through the gardens into the town; the barriers were soon burst, and the royalists turned and fled. This scuffle, which is dignified with the name of the battle of St. Alban's, cost the king's party the lives of Somerset, Northumberland, Clifford, and about six score others.* Buckingham and his son were wounded, as also was the king himself in the neck. He took refuge in the house of a tanner, where he was waited on by York with all humility, and conducted to the abbey.

* We have here a glaring instance of how little the numbers given by late chroniclers are to be relied on. The number of the slain in the text is from the letter of one of the Pastons, who had been in the battle: while Hall gives it at 8000, and Stow at 5000.

Writs were immediately issued in the king's name for a parliament ; and when it met, on the 9th of July, the royal idiot appeared seated on his throne, and pronounced York and his friends guiltless of the slaughter of St. Alban's, as their letters, explaining their views and motives, had been kept back by the arts of the late Duke of Somerset. The parliament was then prorogued. When it met again on the 12th of November, the Duke of York, at the instance of the commons, was once more declared protector, in nearly the same terms as before. But this protectorate was also of brief duration ; for, on the reassembling of parliament on the 14th of January, 1456, Henry was so well, that the queen and her party had a sufficient pretext for asserting his sanity ; and he went in person to the house, on the 25th of February, and revoked the duke's commission. The prince made no opposition ; and the royal puppet and his authority were henceforth wielded by the queen and her party.

During two years the ill blood continued to ferment on both sides ; the nation gradually divided into the two parties of Yorkists and Lancastrians, and a civil war was evidently on the eve of breaking out. Still the primate Bourchier and some other moderate men thought that the evil might be averted ; and the king, at their suggestion, in 1458, directed that the heads of both parties should meet in London, to compose the feuds caused by the affray at St. Alban's. They therefore repaired thither with their retainers. The Yorkists were quartered within, the Lancastrians without the city ; and the mayor, with five thousand armed citizens, was to keep the peace. York and his friends met every morning at the Blackfriars, the other party at the Whitefriars ; the primate and other prelates went between them ; and the proceedings were communicated to the king and the judges at Berkhamstead in the evening. An award was finally made, to which both agreed ; and the next day Henry went to St. Paul's with his whole court, the queen being led by the Duke of York, and the lords of each party walk-

ing arm-in-arm, to exhibit their reconciliation to the eyes of the people.

Small, however, is the force of reconciliations, when ambition, revenge, and other strong passions are at work. Not long after, on the 9th of November, as Warwick was attending the court, a quarrel arose between one of his and one of the king's servants, in which the latter being wounded, his fellows armed themselves with swords, spits, and forks, and assailed Warwick on his way from the council to the barge, so that he escaped with difficulty out of their hands. Thinking that his life was no longer safe, and strongly suspecting the queen, he retired to his castle of Warwick, and thence went to Calais, of which place he was governor. All confidence was now at an end; both parties prepared for arms; and a civil war, which was to fill England with blood and misery, was no longer to be averted.

As the Duke of York now first advanced his claim to the crown, we will pause in our narrative to examine the state of the case between him and the king.

The king derived his title from Henry IV., who was undoubtedly raised to the throne by the choice of the nation. His house had now exercised dominion for sixty years, and had received repeated and voluntary oaths of allegiance from the whole nation, and from the successive heads of the house of York: it had, therefore, everything on its side except hereditary right. But if sixty years' undisturbed possession did not suffice to efface any claims to the contrary, what length of time would suffice? And how, therefore, could any descendant of Edward III. have a better or so good a claim as the King of Scots, for instance, who was the representative of the Saxon line? Nay, Wales, as it has been said, might send forth descendants of British princes to assert a right of still more remote antiquity, of which force alone had deprived them. To reasoning of this kind the Yorkists had only to oppose the doctrine of indefeasible hereditary right.* But their chief reliance was on the amiable

* York was descended on the father's side from the youngest

and popular character of their chief, and on the odium which the queen and her party had drawn on themselves by their arbitrary and oppressive government; for the innocent king was to the last an object of popular favour. The strength of the Yorkists lay in London and the adjoining counties, and, in general, among the middling and lower orders. The duke's main supporters among the nobility were his brother-in-law, Neville earl of Salisbury, his son the earl of Warwick, and Mowbray, earl of Norfolk; but the far larger portion of the nobility were faithful to the king; and "the rose of Lancaster blushed upon the banners of the Staffords, the Percies, the Veres, the Hollands, the Courtneys,"* the Cliffords, the Talbots, and other illustrious names. As the red rose was the cognizance of the house of Lancaster, and the white that of York, the war is named that of the Roses.

To return to the narrative. A plan for a simultaneous rising was arranged between York, Salisbury, and Warwick. The court, aware of the coming contest, distributed in profusion collars of white swans, the badge of the young prince, and invited the king's friends to meet him in arms at Leicester. The winter was spent in preparations on both sides; but the ensuing spring and summer of 1459 passed away in inactivity. At length Salisbury set out from his castle of Middleham, in Yorkshire, to join the Duke of York at Ludlow; while Lord Audley lay, with ten thousand men, at Blore Heath, in Staffordshire, to intercept him. Salisbury, whose force was small, feigned a flight, and Audley pursued. Salisbury crossed a rapid stream in a valley on the 23d of September; and, when one half of the pursuers had crossed over it, he turned and completely defeated them.

son of Edward III., on the mother's side from Lionel, that monarch's third son.

* Hallam, *Middle Ages*, p. 446, *et seq.*, Harpers' ed. This author's judicious remarks on this point should be read, and also those of Mackintosh. See also a valuable note in Turner's *History of England* (vol. iii., 171, 8vo edit.), showing how almost every dynasty since the Conquest has reigned by parliamentary, in opposition to hereditary, right.

Audley and two thousand men were slain, and Lord Dudley and several others were taken. Salisbury met the duke at Ludlow, where they were soon joined by Warwick, with a large body of veterans from Calais under Sir John Blount and Sir Andrew Trollop. The royal army of sixty thousand men in the mean time was advancing from Worcester. Offers of pardon, if they submitted, were sent to the Yorkists; who replied, that they had only taken up arms in their own defence, and were loyal to the king. Both sides prepared for action; but, in the night of the 13th of October, Trollop went over to the king with his veterans; and his defection caused such distrust and dismay among the Yorkists, that they separated without striking a blow. York retired to Ireland; and his son the Earl of March, Salisbury, and Warwick, fled to Devon, and thence to Calais.

A parliament was held shortly after at Coventry, and an act of attainder was passed against York, Salisbury, their wives and children, and Warwick, Lord Clinton, and some others. Their party, however, did not remit in its activity; and the following June, 1460, when Warwick landed in Kent with a small force of fifteen hundred men, he was joined by the primate, by Lord Cobham, and by most of the gentry of the county. By the time he reached London, he found himself at the head of twenty-five thousand men. The city gladly received him, and he then set out to engage the royal forces, which lay at Northampton. Lord Grey de Ruthyn having betrayed his post to the Yorkists on the 10th of July, they obtained an easy victory; the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Beaumont, and about three hundred knights and gentlemen being slain on the royal side. Henry, who was found in his tent, was treated with every mark of respect by the victors; but the queen and the prince escaped into Wales, and thence sailed to Scotland.

Henry was conveyed to London, where he was made to issue writs for a new parliament. It had hardly met and reversed the acts of that of Coventry,

when the Duke of York, who had returned from Ireland, reached London at the head of five hundred horsemen, and, going straight to Westminster, and passing through the hall, entered the upper house, and there stood with his hand on the throne. The primate asked him if he would not visit the king: he replied, "I know no one in this realm who ought not rather to visit me." He then went and occupied the royal apartments. Six days after, on the 16th of October, the duke sent to the chancellor a statement of his claim to the crown, as representative of Lionel duke of Clarence, requesting a speedy answer. The chancellor asked if this paper should be read: the peers replied that it should, but not answered without the king's command. Next day they went in a body to the king, who, having briefly and strongly stated the foundations of his rights, directed them to search for proofs against the claim of the duke. The lords then sent for the judges; but they declined to interfere, as by their office they were not to act as counsel between party and party. The king's sergeants and attorney also sought to excuse themselves; but their excuses were not admitted, and they were ordered to draw up an answer. In this were urged the oaths of fealty taken to the present family, and the various acts of parliament and entails of the crown. The duke's counsel replied, that unlawful oaths are not binding, and that acts of parliament and entails are of no force against the rightful heir. The lords finally proposed a compromise: that the duke's claim should be acknowledged, but that Henry should retain the crown for his life, and, at his death, it should pass to the duke and his heirs. To this both agreed; the royal assent was given to a bill to this effect, and the king, wearing the crown, went in state to St. Paul's, the duke attending as heir-apparent.

The high-spirited queen, however, would not thus tamely surrender the rights of her son. She was now in the north, where the Earl of Northumberland, and the lords Clifford, Dacres, and Neville had armed their followers in her cause; and at York they were

joined by the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Devon, with their tenants from the west. The Duke of York set out, with about five thousand men, to oppose them; and a few days before Christmas he arrived at Sandal Castle, near Wakefield. Here Salisbury and his other friends advised him to wait till the Earl of March should arrive with succours; but, whether urged by his chivalrous spirit, or from some other cause, he accepted the challenge of the enemy, and, on the 30th of December, marched into Wakefield Green, where he was instantly assailed on all sides. The rout of the Yorkists was speedy and complete, and upward of two thousand men lay on the Green. The duke himself being taken prisoner, his captors led him to an ant-hill, and, placing him on it as a throne, set a crown of twisted grass on his head, and bending the knee to him in derision, cried, "Hail, king without a kingdom! Hail, prince without a people!" They then struck off his head, which Clifford presented on a pole to the queen, saying, "Madam, your war is done; here is the ransom of your king." She burst into laughter; and, when she had glutted her eyes with the sight, sent it to be fixed on the walls of York. Salisbury and twelve other of the captive leaders were beheaded the next day at Pontefract. In the pursuit, Lord Clifford had overtaken on the bridge the Earl of Rutland, a youth of about seventeen years of age,* whom his tutor, a venerable priest, was conveying to a place of safety. Struck by his appearance and attire, he loudly demanded who he was; and the terrified lad fell on his knees to sue for mercy. "Save him," cried the tutor; "he is the son of a prince, and, mayhap, may do you good hereafter." "The son of York!" shouted the ruthless savage: "as thy father slew mine, so will I slay thee and all of thy kin;" and plunged his dagger into the bosom of the helpless suppliant.

The Earl of March was at Gloucester when he

* The Earl of Rutland is usually said to have been only twelve years of age; but he was York's second son.

heard of the defeat and death of his father, in 1461. As he had with him a force of twenty-three thousand men, he was preparing to march against the queen; but the earls of Pembroke and Ormond hung on his rear with a body of Welsh and Irish. He therefore turned and gave them battle, and totally defeated them at Mortimer's Cross, near Hereford, on the 1st of February. Ormond and Pembroke escaped; but Owen Tudor, the father of the latter, was taken; and, with some other leaders, beheaded next day at Hereford, in retaliation for the executions at Wakefield. The queen, in the mean time, advanced towards London with her borderers, to whom their leaders had promised the pillage of the country south of the Trent. Warwick and the Duke of Norfolk, taking the king with them, placed themselves at St. Alban's, to oppose her. An engagement ensued on the 17th of February, which ended in the defeat of the Yorkists, who lost two thousand men. Henry was left in his tent with Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Kyriel, to whom he had promised his protection;* but Margaret little heeded his promises, and they were beheaded the next day. Her troops pillaged the country round; but London and the adjacent counties remained steady to the cause of York. Edward advanced, and united his forces with those of Warwick; and soon the queen found it necessary to return with all speed to the north; so that, on the 25th of February, Edward entered London in triumph. A few days after, Lord Falconbridge and the Bishop of Exeter harangued the people assembled in St. John's Fields, Clerkenwell, on the bad title of Henry, and the good one of Edward, to the crown. Falconbridge then asked them if they would have Henry of Lancaster for their king; and loud cries of "No, no!" arose: he then asked if they would love and obey Edward earl of March as their sovereign lord: "Yea, yea!" cried they; "King Edward!" and shouted and clapped their hands. Next day, March the 4th, in a great

* This is a disputed point.

council, it was resolved that Henry, by joining the queen's forces, had violated the award, and therefore forfeited the crown; and Edward was forthwith proclaimed king.

Under the Lancastrian princes, the importance of the House of Commons was continually on the increase; and the influencing of the choice of members became a matter of great consequence in the eyes of the sovereign and the nobility.* Hitherto the elections seem to have been very irregular, all who chose to attend being privileged to vote.

In the eighth year of Henry VI., an act was passed limiting the elective franchise in the counties to freeholders of lands of the annual value of forty shillings. The statute thus commences: "Whereas the elections of knights of shires have now of late been made by very great, outrageous, and excessive numbers of people dwelling within the same counties, of which the most part was people of small substance and of no value, yet pretending to a right equal to the best knights and esquires, whereby manslaughter, riots, batteries, and divisions among the gentlemen and other people of the same counties shall very likely rise and be," &c.

* See the Paston Letters, *passim*.

CHAPTER XII.

EDWARD IV.*

1461-1483.

Battle of Towton; of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham.—Capture of Henry.—Marriage of Edward.—Risings of the Peasantry.—Flight of Edward; his Return.—Battle of Barnet; of Tewkesbury.—Death of Henry; of Clarence and of the King.

THE new monarch found it necessary to take the field again in a few days. The Lancastrians, to the number of sixty thousand men, having taken their station at York, Edward and Warwick left London to engage them; and, when they reached Pontefract, their forces amounted to forty-nine thousand men. As it was of importance to secure the passage of the Aire at Ferrybridge, Lord Fitzwalter was sent forward for that purpose. He effected his object; but, shortly after, he was attacked and slain by Lord Clifford; who, in his turn, was within a few hours slain by Lord Falconbridge, and the passage was recovered. The Yorkists then crossed the river; and the next morning, March 29th, in the plain between the villages of Towton and Saxton, a general engagement commenced, under a heavy fall of snow, which drove in the faces of the Lancastrians. Both sides fought with obstinacy till towards evening, when the Lancastrians gave way:† they retired in good order till they reached the river Cock, where they broke and fled in all directions. Edward had issued orders to give no quarter; and nearly one half of the Lancas-

* Authorities same as before, and Commynes.

† According to the fragment published by Hearne, the action began at four o'clock in the evening of Saturday, March 29th, was continued through the night, and was decided the next day (Palm Sunday) at noon, by the arrival of the Duke of Norfolk with a re-enforcement to Edward.

trians perished.* The Earl of Northumberland and six barons were slain; the earls of Devon and Wiltshire were taken in the pursuit, and the dukes of Somerset and Exeter reached York, whence they conveyed the king and queen to the borders.

The morning after this decisive victory Edward entered York. The heads of his father and friends were taken down from the gates by his orders, and replaced by those of Devon and Wiltshire. Thence he proceeded to Newcastle, and then returned to London, where he was crowned with great magnificence on the 29th of June. On this occasion he created his younger brothers, George and Richard, dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. A parliament met immediately; the last three kings were declared usurpers, and their grants, with a few exceptions, were revoked; but their judicial acts, and the honours conferred by them, were ratified. A bill of attainder was then passed against Henry, his wife and son, Somerset, Exeter, Northumberland, Devon, Wiltshire, and other nobles, knights, esquires, and priests, to the number of one hundred and fifty. The avowed object was the annihilation of the Lancastrian party: it may also have been intended to provide rewards for the victors.

Meantime Margaret was making every effort to renew the contest. By the surrender of Berwick the aid of the Scots was obtained; and the queen then sailed, in 1462, to the Continent, to try to raise men and money. From the Duke of Brittany she obtained a present of twelve thousand crowns;† and Louis XI. of France lent her twenty thousand, on the security of Calais; and gave Brezé, the seneschal of Normandy, permission to aid her with two thousand men. After an absence of five months, she landed with her French auxiliaries in Northumberland. Both English and Scottish borderers repaired to her standard; the

* The number of the slain on both sides was stated variously at from 30,000 to 37,000.

† The French crown was of the value of six livres or francs, equal to one dollar and thirteen cents.—*Am. Ed.*

castles of Alnwick, Bamborough, and Dunstanburgh were taken; and fortune seemed to smile. But when Warwick appeared with twenty thousand men, and rumour told of the approach of Edward with a larger force, her troops lost courage, and dispersed to garrison these three fortresses. The queen embarked with the French; a storm scattered her fleet; and she and Brezé, after witnessing the loss of her treasure in the tempest, escaped in a fishing-boat to Berwick. Edward advanced to Newcastle, and then returned to London, leaving Warwick to besiege the fortresses. After an obstinate resistance they were surrendered, on condition of the Duke of Somerset, Sir Richard Percy, and some others being pardoned, and restored to their estates and honours, and the garrisons being conducted to Scotland.

During this winter-campaign, as Margaret, her son, and Brezé were riding through a forest, they were seized and robbed by a party of bandits. While the robbers were quarrelling about the booty, the queen contrived to steal away with the prince, and plunged into the depths of the wood. As she was wandering about, she encountered a single robber. Escape was hopeless; and she boldly went up to him and said, "Friend, I commit to thy care the son of thy king." The outlaw was not without feelings of generosity: he accepted the charge, and conducted them in safety to their friends.* In the spring of 1463, the queen, the Duke of Exeter, Brezé, and two hundred others, sailed to Flanders. She thence proceeded to her father's duchy of Bar, where she remained watching the progress of events. Henry, in the mean time, was protected by a Welsh knight in his castle.

Still the spirit of the Lancastrians was unbroken; and the next year, 1464, Henry was summoned from his retreat, to put himself at the head of a body of exiles and Scots. Somerset and Percy, heedless of their oaths, resumed their arms; and Sir Ralph Grey, a Yorkist, thinking himself ill used by Edward, seized

* Monstrelet, iii., 29.

the castle of Alnwick. But Lord Montague, Warwick's brother, warden of the east marches, defeated and killed Percy at Hedgeley Moor, on the 25th of April; and, on the 15th of May, at the head of four thousand men, he advanced against Somerset, who was encamped with a small force of not more, it is said, than five hundred men, on the banks of the Dilswater, near Hexham. The defeat of the Lancastrians was immediate. Somerset was taken, and beheaded the same day; and a similar fate befell the lords Roos and Hungerford, and others. Grey was taken at Bamborough, and was executed as a traitor at Doncaster.

The unfortunate Henry, who had been at Hexham, had fled before the arrival of Montague. He was closely pursued; and three of his servants were taken in their gowns of blue velvet, one of them bearing his cap of state, which was embroidered with two crowns and adorned with pearls. He, however, escaped into Lancashire, where he was concealed by his friends for more than a year. At length, a treacherous monk gave information of his retreat to Sir James Harrington, who seized him as he was sitting at dinner at Waddington Hall in 1465, and he was forthwith sent to London. At Islington he was met by Warwick. Orders were given that no respect should be shown him; his legs were tied under the belly of the horse on which he was placed; he was led thrice round the pillory, and then consigned to the Tower, where, however, he was treated with humanity. The services of Montague were rewarded by the earldom of Northumberland. Fresh attainders were passed against the Lancastrians, whose estates went to reward the victors; but these were followed by an act of amnesty; treaties of alliance were formed with most foreign princes; and Edward, deeming himself secure on the throne, launched into pleasure, leaving the charge of affairs to the Nevilles; namely, Warwick, Northumberland, and their brother George, archbishop of York and chancellor.

The Nevilles were urgent with the king to marry some foreign princess; but it was not now in his

power to comply. As he was one day hunting in Northamptonshire, he called to visit Jacquette, duchess-dowager of Bedford,* who had given her hand to Sir Richard Woodville, or Wydeville, of Grafton in that county. While he was there, the duchess's daughter Elizabeth, the widow of Sir John Grey of Groby, who had fallen on the Lancastrian side in the second battle of St. Alban's, came and threw herself at his feet, imploring him to reverse her husband's attainder in favour of her innocent children. Edward was moved to pity; for, though the countenance of the fair suiter was not beautiful, her manners were graceful and winning, her form elegant, and her language and sentiments distinguished by wit and propriety. Her suit was listened to with favour; and love soon took the place of pity. About the end of April, 1464, he repaired to Stoney Stratford; and, early in the morning of May-day, he stole over to Grafton, where a priest united him to the fair relict, in the presence of his clerk, the duchess, and two of her female attendants. Soon after he set out for the north; but the battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham had occurred before he arrived.

On his return, Edward resolved to acknowledge his wife as queen. A general council of the peers having met, on his summons, at Reading Abbey the following Michaelmas, Elizabeth was led in by the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, and was by all saluted as queen. In May of the following year, 1465, her uncle, James of Luxembourg, having been invited over to give her dignity in the eyes of those who objected to the humbleness of her birth, the ceremony of her coronation was performed. Her influence over the king was soon apparent in the advancement of her family: her father was created Earl Rivers,† and made first treasurer, and then lord high constable; her five sisters were married to young noblemen of the highest rank; her brother Antony to the heiress of Lord

* See above, p. 65.

† He had been created Baron Rivers in the late reign.

Scales; and her brother John, a youth of twenty, to the wealthy dowager Duchess of Norfolk, now in her eightieth year! To the queen's own son, Thomas, was given the king's niece, the heiress of Exeter; and he was created Marquis of Dorset.

These promotions of the upstart Woodvilles naturally excited the jealousy of the Nevilles, who had expected to have a monopoly of power under the prince whom they had placed on the throne; and the king, on his side, urged by the Woodvilles, became gradually estranged from them. The change was first manifested on the occasion of the marriage of the king's sister Margaret, in 1467. It was proposed to give her to the son and heir of the Duke of Burgundy. Warwick, who was the avowed enemy of that prince, was for an alliance with one of the French princes. He was allowed to go over to Rouen, to treat with Louis XI. for the purpose; but, during his absence, negotiations were carried on with the court of Burgundy, which ended in the marriage of Margaret into that house. Warwick, on his return, retired in discontent to his castle of Middleham: a reconciliation, however, was effected between the king and him; and when the princess was conducted by her brother to the coast, she rode behind the Earl of Warwick.

The next transaction of importance which we meet, is the marriage of the Duke of Clarence with the daughter of Warwick in 1469, in spite of the efforts of the king to prevent it. The marriage took place at Calais on the 11th of July; and it is singular that, at this very time, an insurrection of the peasantry broke out in Yorkshire: the county in which the influence of the Nevilles chiefly lay. By a law of King Athelstan, the hospital of St. Leonard's, near York, had a right to a thrave* of corn off each ploughland in the county. The peasantry complained of abuse of these funds, and at length refused payment; the officers distrained and imprisoned them; they flew to

* *Thrave* is an old English word signifying two dozen; meaning here that number of sheaves or bundles of corn.—*Am. Ed.*

arms, and, to the number of fifteen thousand, under one Robert Hilyard, commonly called Robin of Redesdale, marched against York. They were there, however, attacked and routed by the Earl of Northumberland; and their leader was taken and executed. But the insurrection now changed its character: the sons of the lords Fitz-Hugh and Latimer, the nephew and cousin of Warwick, aided by the advice of Sir John Conyers, an experienced officer, placed themselves at the head of it. The removal of the Woodvilles, the fancied authors of all the taxes and oppressions of which the people complained, was the declared object. The name of Warwick was freely used; and, in a few days, the insurgents amounted to sixty thousand men.

The king was in great perplexity. He wrote to Clarence and Warwick to hasten from Calais to him; Lord Herbert advanced from Wales with eight thousand men, and Lord Stafford joined him at Banbury with five thousand; but, a dispute arising about their quarters at an inn, Stafford retired to some distance, and the rebels next day, the 26th of July, fell on Herbert at Edgewote, and killed him and five thousand of his men. In the pursuit, the victors found Lord Rivers and his son John in the forest of Dean, and brought them to Northampton, where they were executed, by a real or pretended order from Clarence and Warwick.

These two noblemen had now arrived. They met the king at Olney, and actually placed him in confinement at Middleham, under the custody of the Archbishop of York.* But a rising of the Lancastrians on the borders† obliged them to come to terms with him, and set him at liberty. This was followed by a general pardon; and by the promise of the king's eldest daughter to George, son of Northumberland, and presumptive heir to the three Nevilles, who was also created Duke of Bedford, to raise him nearer in rank

* The truth of this is proved by Lingard, in opposition to Carle, Hume, and Henry.

† It was headed by Sir Humphrey Neville. After the battle of Hexham, this knight had remained for five years concealed in a cavern, opening into the river Derwent.

to the young princess. It would seem, however, that the reconciliation was anything but sincere; for not long after, in 1470, when the king went to an entertainment given by the archbishop at his seat, the Moor, in Herts, as he was washing his hands before supper, it was whispered to him that one hundred men were lying in ambush, to seize and carry him off. Without any inquiry, he stole to the door, mounted his horse, and rode to Windsor. Under the mediation of the king's mother, however, a new reconciliation was effected.

Just at this time occurred a rising in Lincolnshire, headed by Sir Robert Welles. The extortion of the royal purveyors was the ostensible, and probably the real ground. How far Warwick was concerned in it cannot be said with certainty: Edward, however, gave him and Clarence a commission to raise forces. Lord Welles, the father of Robert, fled to the sanctuary when summoned to the royal presence: he and Sir Thomas Dymock, his companion, however, came forth on the promise of a pardon. But, as Sir Robert did not lay down his arms, the king, in violation of his word, beheaded them both. On the 12th of March he gave the insurgents a defeat at Erpingham in Rutlandshire,* and their leaders, Welles and Sir Charles Delalaunde, were taken and beheaded. Before their execution, they declared that their object had been to aid the earl and duke in placing the latter on the throne; that they had acted under their instructions, but had given battle contrary to their advice; since, if they had waited a few days, Warwick was to have joined them with twenty thousand men.

Clarence and Warwick, on the defeat of the rebels, moved towards Manchester, in hopes that the Lord Stanley, who was married to Warwick's sister, would join them. On his refusal they turned southward; and, being proclaimed traitors, and pursued by the royal forces, they embarked at Dartmouth on the 15th

* This was popularly called the battle of Lose-coat Field: because the fugitives threw away their coats-of-mail to escape.

of April, and made sail for Calais. But Vauclerc, a Gascon, whom Warwick had left in command there, had resolved to play a double game; and, while he turned the guns on them, and even refused to allow the Duchess of Clarence, who was ill, to land, he sent secretly to assure Warwick of his own fidelity, but to inform him that the garrison, meanwhile, could not be depended on: at the same time, he sent protestations of his loyalty to the king. Warwick, feigning to be satisfied, sailed for Normandy, capturing what Flemish vessels he met; and, landing at Harfleur, he and Clarence proceeded by invitation to the French court at Amboise, whither King Lewis XI. also invited Queen Margaret; and, though she and Warwick hated one another mortally, and had most abundant reason so to do, the able monarch at length effected a reconciliation between them. Prince Edward married Warwick's second daughter, Anne; and it was agreed that all should unite to restore Henry to the throne; and, if the prince should die without issue, that the crown was to go to Clarence. This prince, however, who had hoped to wrest the sceptre from his brother, was by no means pleased with the new arrangement; and he listened readily to the secret proposals made to him by King Edward, through a lady of his duchess' train, who had been left behind in England, and engaged to prove a loyal subject on due occasion..

Preparations were now made for the invasion of England, where Edward was passing his time in thoughtless gayety. His more active brother-in-law of Burgundy sent a fleet to blockade the mouth of the Seine; but a storm dispersed it, and the exiles effected their landing at Plymouth, on the 13th of September. Warwick proclaimed King Henry, and summoned in his name all men from sixteen to sixty to his standard. He marched in a direct line for Nottingham (his forces increasing at every step), as Edward had been drawn to the north by a pretended rising of Warwick's brother-in-law, the Lord Fitz-Hugh. Edward had summoned his friends to Doncaster; but few however came, and many of these soon

went away again. One night, while he was in bed, intelligence was brought that Warwick was at hand; and this was followed by tidings of six thousand of his troops having, at the instigation of the marquis,* flung away the white rose, and, tossing their bonnets into the air, shouted, "God bless King Harry!" No time was to be lost. He mounted his horse and rode to the town of Lynn, where, finding three ships, he embarked with about eight hundred followers; and, making the mariners set sail for Holland on the 3d of October, he landed near Alkmaar, whence he proceeded to the Hague.

Warwick and Clarence hastened to London; King Henry was taken from the Tower, and walked in procession, with the crown on his head, to St. Paul's, on the 13th of October. A parliament was summoned, which, among other acts, confirmed the treaty of Amboise, and restored the Lancastrian lords who had lost their lands and honours. The Nevilles, of course, were reinstated in their former posts and offices; but, to their credit, their triumph was not sanguinary. No blood was shed but that of Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, whose cruelty in his office of constable had earned him the title of *butcher*. He was taken in the top of a tree, in the forest of Weybridge, and was tried before the Earl of Oxford and executed. This nobleman was distinguished by his cultivation and patronage of literature; but letters did not produce on his mind the humanizing effect usually ascribed to them.†

It was not long, however, before Edward was again in arms, in 1471. The Duke of Burgundy, afraid to assist him openly, sent him in secret 50,000 florins (\$24,000), and hired ships in which he and his followers embarked for England. Repulsed on the coast of Suffolk, he steered for the Humber, and landed, like

* After the late rising, Edward deprived Warwick's brother of the earldom of Northumberland, which he restored to the Percies; but he made him Marquis Montague, and continued his favour.

† See in Stow the details of his butcheries after the battle of Erpingham.

Henry IV., at Ravenspur, on the 14th of March. Imitating that prince, he pretended that he came only to claim the estates of the house of York ; and his followers shouted "Long live King Henry !" as they passed through the towns and villages. At York he swore on the altar that he had no design on the crown. He passed near Pontefract, where Montague lay with a large force. Messages passed between them, and he went on unimpeded : his partisans flocked to him, and at Nottingham he saw himself at the head of a respectable force. He now flung off the mask. Clarence did the same ; ordered the men, whom he had raised in the name of Henry, to place the white rose on their gorgets ; and joined his brother. Warwick, who had advanced to Coventry, having declined the combat which was proffered, Edward pushed on for London, where his party was strong, for most of the wealthy citizens were his creditors ; the city dames, too, were all in the interest of the gay and gallant monarch ; and there were about two thousand of his partisans in sanctuary, ready to break out when necessary. The Archbishop of York, who had charge of the city, false as usual, caused him to be admitted, and swore allegiance to him. Edward, taking Henry with him, advanced to Barnet to meet Warwick, who was now approaching. Clarence sent to his father-in-law, offering to mediate : "Go tell your master that Warwick, true to his word, is a better man than the false and perjured Clarence," was the indignant reply. Next morning, the 14th of April, before sunrise, both armies were drawn out. The battle lasted six hours. At one time the Yorkists had the worst of it, and tidings of their defeat were conveyed to the city ; but a mistake is said to have decided the fortune of the day. Edward's men wore, on the back and breast, his badge, a sun : the Earl of Oxford's men wore *his*, which was a star with rays ; and Warwick's men, taking them for enemies, charged and drove them off the field. Warwick and Montague were both slain ; Exeter was left for dead ; and Somerset and Oxford alone of the Lancastrian leaders escaped. Important as was this

victory, we are told by an eyewitness that the whole number of the slain did not exceed eleven hundred. Edward returned to London in triumph; Henry was once more consigned to his prison in the Tower; and the bodies of Warwick and Montague, after being exposed to public view for three days at St. Paul's, were buried at Bilsam Abbey. Thus at length perished in battle the renowned Earl of Warwick, the King-maker as he was called; it being the popular belief that the crown would always fall to the side which he espoused. It has been truly said of him, that "he was distinguished by all the good and bad qualities which shine with most lustre in a barbarous age."

But another contest awaited Edward. The very day of the battle of Barnet, Queen Margaret landed at Plymouth. When she heard of that fatal event, her firm spirit gave way; she sank to the ground in despair, and then took sanctuary with her son at the Abbey of Beaulieu. But the Earl of Devon, the lords Wenlock and St. John, and others, recalled her to energy. She advanced to Bath, where many resorted to her standard; and it was resolved to try to effect a junction with the Earl of Pembroke, who had a large force in Wales. But the people of Gloucester had secured the only bridge over the Severn; and, when she came to Tewkesbury, she learned that Edward was at hand with a more numerous army. The Lancastrians, on the 4th of May, took their post in a strong enclosure without the town; and Edward, on coming up, ordered his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, who led the van, to attack them. They gallantly repelled the assaults of the Yorkists; but the Duke of Somerset, sallying forth with a part of the troops, while Lord Wenlock kept back the remainder, his men were driven back and cut to pieces. The Yorkists rushed in; and Somerset, in his rage, rode up to Wenlock, and clove his scull with his battle-axe. The queen and prince were made prisoners; and the latter, it is said, being led before Edward in his tent, the victor demanded what had brought him to England. "To recover my father's kingdom and heritage from his

father and grandfather to him, and from him to me lineally descended," replied the undaunted youth. Edward struck him in the face with his gauntlet; and Clarence, Gloucester, Hastings, and Dorset instantly despatched him with their swords.* The queen remained a prisoner.

The Earl of Devon, Sir Edmund Hampden, and about three thousand soldiers, fell on the side of the Lancastrians. Somerset, St. John, and some others sought refuge in the church of the abbey; and when Edward entered it, to return thanks for his victory, he granted a free pardon to all who were in it. Two days after, however, he repented of his mercy; and they were dragged out, tried before a military tribunal, and beheaded.

Edward re-entered London on the morning of the 22d of May; and that evening the life of Henry was terminated by grief, as it was given out, but more probably (nay, we might say certainly) by order of Edward, who wished to put a complete end to the hopes of the Lancastrians. The reason why he had not done this before is plain: it would have been a useless crime as long as Prince Edward lived. The actual guilt of the murder has been charged on the Duke of Gloucester, but without sufficient evidence. The body, having been exposed like those of other murdered princes, was interred at Chertsey; and it soon was given out, that miracles were performed at the tomb of that innocent monarch, who was revered as a martyr by his party.

Victorious over the Lancastrians, Edward now resolved on war with France, and a league for this purpose was formed with the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany. Parliament was always liberal on occasion of these unjust and ridiculous claims to the crown of

* In the Harleian MS., followed by Mr. Turner, and published by the Camden Society, it is said that he was "taken fleinge to the towne-wards, and slayne in the fiede." Another MS. says that he fell in battle (*ceciderat belligerens*). We do not think, however, with Mr. Turner, that these are positive contradictions of the common story.

France ; but, their liberality not sufficing, Edward had recourse to a novel expedient. He summoned the most wealthy citizens before him ; and, pretending to be very poor, begged that they would supply his wants. None, of course, dared to refuse ; and the king facetiously named these compulsory gifts *benevolences*. In 1475 he passed over to Calais with fifteen hundred men-at-arms and fifteen thousand archers, and summoned the Duke of Burgundy to join him. But that prince had already exhausted his resources ; and Louis, who had no desire for a war, learning that lords Howard and Stanley and others were as little inclined to it, and Edward himself not extremely anxious for it, sent proposals of peace, and a truce was concluded for seven years. Edward was to be paid 75,000 crowns (\$85,000) down, and 50,000 crowns (\$56,500) a year ; the dauphin was to marry his eldest daughter, and Queen Margaret was to be liberated on the payment of 50,000 crowns by Louis. The two monarchs then had a personal interview, on the bridge of Pecquigny, near Amiens. A grating of wood was placed across it, to prevent any treachery, and they conversed familiarly for some time. To keep up his influence in the English councils and avert future wars, Louis settled pensions on Lord Hastings, Lord Dorset, and others of the king's ministers and favourites.

The Duke of Clarence had, perhaps, never recovered the place which he had held in the king's mind previous to his union with Warwick, and he had now also a powerful enemy in his younger brother Richard ; for this ambitious youth, in order to gain a share of the immense possessions of Warwick, had formed a plan to marry the young widow of the late Prince of Wales ; while Clarence, who grasped at the whole inheritance, strove as much as he could to conceal his sister-in-law, who, after a search of some months, was found disguised as a cook-maid in London. Richard then espoused her, and arbitrators were appointed by the king to divide the property between them ; but hatred still rankled in the bosoms

of the brothers. After the end of the French war, the king, to avoid the odium of taxation, resumed most of the grants made of late years. Clarence, by this regulation, lost several estates, and withdrew in anger from court. Some time after, in 1476, his duchess died; and, as the Duke of Burgundy had been slain at Nanci, and his daughter Mary by his first marriage became the heiress of his dominions, Clarence, aided by his sister, the dowager duchess, sought the hand of the princess; but the king, from dislike and jealousy of him, offered every opposition in his power. It is also said that the queen was hostile to him on this account; as her own brother, Lord Rivers, aspired to the hand of the heiress of Burgundy. He thus had powerful enemies and few friends.

It happened one day, it is said, as the king was hunting at Harrow in Warwickshire, the seat of a gentleman named Thomas Burdett, who was in the service of Clarence, that he killed a white stag, the favourite of the owner. Burdett, on hearing of the death of his stag, in his grief and anger wished that its horns were in the body of him who killed it. It is not clear whether he knew that the king was the person: he was, however, thrown into prison, tried, and executed for treason.* About this time, too, one Stacey, a clergyman and chaplain to Clarence, was accused of magic, and executed for this offence. Clarence loudly asserted the innocence of his friends: while his words were repeated with exaggeration to the king, who committed him to the Tower; and then, summoning a parliament in 1478, accused him before it of high treason. He was found guilty, sentence of death was passed on him, and he was recommitted to the Tower. His death was announced about ten days after. The manner of it is uncertain; but the com-

* Such is the common story, as told by More, Hollingshed, and others. The indictment against Burdett says nothing of it: it charges him with conspiring with Stacey and another to calculate the nativities of the king and his son, to know when they should die; and of distributing seditious verses in Holborn.

mon report was, that he was given his choice, and that he selected drowning in a butt of malmsey. His brother, it is said, afterward regretted his severity to him. As the chief gainers by the death of Clarence were the queen's family, it is not unlikely that they had stimulated the cruelty of the king.

The remaining events of Edward's reign were of little importance. While, enraged at the perfidious conduct of Louis respecting the marriage of the dauphin to his daughter, he was meditating war against him, he was seized with a disease which proved fatal. He died on the 6th of April, 1483, in the forty-second year of his age and twenty-third of his reign. On his deathbed he directed that restitution out of his treasures should be made to those whom he had wronged or from whom he had extorted benevolences.

Edward was remarkably handsome in person, though towards the end of his life he became extremely corpulent. He was addicted to pleasure and indulgence of every kind. In his family he was kind and affectionate; and, though notoriously faithless to his queen, he was lavish in his grants to her and her relations. Like Marc Antony, whom he resembled in many points, he united with his love of pleasure a great capacity for business, a dauntless valour, and much skill in the field; but his conduct after victory was generally tarnished by cruelty. His manners were showy and popular, and he retained to the last the affections of the people.

CHAPTER XIII.

EDWARD V.—RICHARD III.*

1483-1485.

Parties at Court.—Imprisonment of Rivers and Grey.—Execution of Hastings.—Jane Shore.—Dr. Shaw's Sermon.—Gloucester made King.—Murder of the Princes.—Conspiracy and Death of Buckingham.—Richard proposes to marry his Niece.—Landing of Richmond.—Battle of Bosworth.—Constitution under the Plantagenets.—Religion of the Fifteenth Century.

THE new king was a boy only in his thirteenth year, and therefore unable to assume the government. The court was split into two parties: the one composed of the family of the queen, of whom the principal were the accomplished Earl Rivers, her brother, and the Marquis of Dorset, her son. The other party consisted of the lords Hastings, Howard, Stanley, and other members of the ancient nobility, who, though sincerely attached to the person and cause of the king, could ill brook the favour of the upstart Woodvilles. While Edward lived, he kept both within bounds; but he feared lest the scenes of the minority of Henry VI. might be renewed; and, when he found himself dying, he summoned both parties to his chamber, and made them embrace in his presence, fondly deeming thus to extinguish their long-cherished enmity.

The young king was proclaimed in the usual manner on the 9th of April. He was now residing at Ludlow with his uncle Rivers, and maternal brother Lord Grey, under the pretext that his presence would restrain the turbulent Welsh; but, in reality, that he might become attached to his mother's family. The queen proposed that directions should be sent to Lord

* Authorities: Cont. of Croyland, Rouse, More, Buck.

Rivers to raise an army, and conduct his nephew to London ; but Hastings and his friends, taking alarm, strenuously opposed this course ; and the queen, in an evil hour, consented that her son should travel with an escort of only two thousand horse.

The two first princes of the blood were Richard duke of Gloucester, and Henry duke of Buckingham, who was descended from the youngest son of Edward III. The former was at this time commanding an army on the borders of Scotland ; and, when he heard of his brother's death, he repaired to York, and summoned the gentry of the county to swear allegiance to his nephew, himself setting them the example. He wrote in terms of the utmost friendship to the queen and her family ; and then moved towards London, to be present at the coronation, which was fixed for the month of May. In the mean time, secret messages, of the exact import of which we are uninformed, passed between him, Hastings, and Buckingham.

On the 29th of April, the day on which the young king reached Stoney Stratford, Gloucester arrived at Northampton, distant about ten miles. When Rivers and Grey heard he was there, they turned back to salute him in the name of the king. He received them with the greatest cordiality, and invited them to dinner. In the evening, Buckingham arrived with three hundred horsemen. Rivers and Grey stopped for the night, and in the morning rode with the two dukes to wait on the king ; but, just as they were entering Stoney Stratford, Gloucester turned and charged them with alienating from him the affections of his nephew. They denied the charge ; but were arrested and conveyed to the rear. The two dukes then waited on the king, and with bended knee professed their loyalty, assuring him that the marquis his brother, and Rivers his uncle, had compassed to rule the realm and destroy its noble blood. "What my lord marquis," replied he, "may have done in London, I cannot say ; but I dare answer for my uncle Rivers and my brother here, that they be innocent of any

such matter." The dukes then arrested Sir Thomas Vaughan and Sir Richard Hawse, two of his principal attendants, and commanded the rest of his retinue to disperse. They led the king back to Northampton, and sent the four prisoners northward.

When intelligence of what had occurred at Stratford reached London, the queen, in alarm and terror, took sanctuary at Westminster, with her five daughters, and her sons the Marquis of Dorset and the Duke of York. On the 4th of May, Gloucester led the young king to London, where he was lodged in the bishop's palace, and received the homage of all present. A few days after, on the motion of Buckingham, he was removed to the Tower, preparatory to his coronation, which was fixed for the 22d of June. Gloucester, meanwhile, was named Protector; and many of the great officers of state were displaced to make room for his creatures.

So far the conduct of Gloucester is at least suspicious: as we proceed it gradually darkens. Finding Hastings, Stanley, and others, though hostile to the Woodvilles, firmly attached to the young king, he divided the council; letting them and their friends sit at the Tower, while *he* and his partisans met at Crosby Place,* his own residence. When his secret plans were matured, he went, on the 13th of June, to the Tower, and took his seat at the council-board. He assumed a gay and cheerful humour; and, praising the strawberries which grew in the Bishop of Ely's garden at Holborn, requested to have a dish of them for dinner. The bishop sent a servant to fetch them. The protector withdrew, as if on business; and in about an hour after he returned, with an altered countenance, and sat down in silence. At length he cried, "Of what are they worthy who have compassed the death of me, the king's protector by nature as well as by law?" "To be punished," said Hastings, "as heinous traitors." "And that," replied he, "hath that sorceress, my brother's wife, with

* In Bishopsgate-street; a portion of it still exists.

others her accomplices, endeavoured to do." "See," continued he, "in what a miserable manner that sorceress and Shore's wife, with others their associates, have, by their sorcery and witchcraft, miserably destroyed my body." He then unbuttoned his sleeve, and showed them his left arm shrunk and withered. As those present knew that his arm had always been so, they saw that he wanted to quarrel with them. Hastings, however, whose mistress Shore then was, replied, "Certainly, my lord, if they have indeed done any such thing, they deserve to be both severely punished." "Do you answer me with *ifs* and *ands*, as if I charged them falsely?" cried the protector, in a rage: "I tell you they have done it, and thou hast joined with them in this villany." He struck the table with his fist; a man without shouted Treason! and armed men rushed in. "I arrest thee, traitor!" cried Richard to Hastings: Stanley and the bishops of York and Ely were also arrested and sent to separate cells; and to Hastings he said, "Shrive thyself apace, for, by St. Paul, I will not dine till I see thy head off!" He took a priest at a venture; and, having made short shrift, was then led down to the green before the chapel, and his head was struck off on a piece of timber that was lying there. After his dinner Richard summoned the principal citizens to attend him. He and Buckingham came forth in rusty armour (suddenly taken, as it were, in the Tower, for their defence), and he told them that Hastings had intended murdering him and the duke; that he had not discovered this design till ten o'clock this morning, and had thus been obliged to provide for his defence. He requested them to inform their fellow-citizens of the truth of the case. A proclamation to the same effect was also issued, which was so neatly composed and fairly written, that it was plain to most people it could not have been drawn up after the death of Hastings.

On the very same day on which Hastings was thus murdered, Ratchffe, one of Richard's principal confidants, came to Pontefract, where Rivers and his three

friends now were. A court, presided over by the Earl of Northumberland, was formed for their trial; and they were found guilty of conspiring the death of Richard. Their heads were struck off forthwith. The aged Sir Thomas Vaughan appealing, when on the scaffold, to the tribunal of God against this murder, Ratcliffe said with a sneer, "You have made a goodly appeal, lay down your head!" "I die in the right," replied he; "take heed you die not in the wrong!" words proved by the event to be prophetic.*

The ultimate object of Richard must have been now apparent to every one, and each day added confirmation to suspicion. On the 16th he entered his barge, with several nobles and prelates, and, followed by a large body of armed men, proceeded to Westminster, in order to obtain the Duke of York by force, if he could not do it by fair means. He first sent a deputation of nobles, headed by the primate, to demand him from the queen; and Elizabeth, knowing the inutility of resistance, affected to acquiesce cheerfully. She called for her son, gave him a last embrace, and then, turning about, burst into tears. The child was conveyed in great pomp to the Tower; and the two innocent doomed victims naturally received much delight at meeting again, little suspecting the fate that awaited them.

The protector now appeared in a new character: that of a rigid censor of morals. Among the mistresses of the late king was a woman named Jane Shore, the wife of a young and opulent citizen. "Proper she was and fair," says Sir Thomas More, "yet delighted not men so much in her beauty as in her pleasant behaviour; for a proper wit had she, and could both read well and write; ready and quick of answer, neither mute nor babbling." After the

* More. Rivers, however, could not have been there, as we have his will dated on the 23d at Sheriff Hutton's. But, as at the end of it are the following words, "My will is *now* to be buried before an image of our blessed Lady Mary with my Lord Richard (Grey)," &c., he must have been executed at Pontefract, but some days after the others. See Lingard and Turner.

death of the king she had become attached to Hastings; and she was now arrested as a participator in his conspiracy. The protector committed her to prison, seized her goods to the value of 3000 marks to his own use, and then had her tried in the spiritual court for incontinence and adultery. She was sentenced to perform public penance; and, stripped to her kirtle, with her feet bare, carrying a lighted taper, and preceded by the cross, she was made to walk to St. Paul's through the crowded streets.*

Having thus revived the memory of the dissolute habits of his brother, Richard next proceeded to arraign the legitimacy of his children. On the 22d of June, Dr. Shaw, an Augustinian friar, brother to the lord-mayor, preached at St. Paul's Cross.† His text was "Bastard slips shall not strike deep roots" (Wisdom of Solomon, iv., 3); and, taking occasion to notice the profligate habits of the late king, he proceeded to say that he had actually, at one time, caused a marriage to be celebrated between himself and Elcanor the widow of Lord Boteler of Sudely, by Stillington, now bishop of Bath, who had since declared the same; and that, consequently, his marriage with Elizabeth Grey was illegal, and the issue illegitimate. It was even, he hinted, doubtful if Edward himself and the Duke of Clarence (who, however, had been attainted) were the children of the Duke of York, to whom they bore no resemblance. "But," cried the preacher, "my lord the protector, that very noble prince, the pattern of all heroic deeds, is the perfect image of his father; his features are the same, and

* Jane afterward lived with the Marquis of Dorset. Lynom, the solicitor-general, was then about to marry her; and there is a letter extant from Richard to the chancellor on the subject, which is rather creditable to his feelings. The marriage, however, does not seem to have taken place. Jane lived to a great age, in poverty and neglect, for she died in 1527. The popular tale of Richard's forbidding any one to relieve her, &c., is a popular tale and nothing more.

† This cross, which we shall find so often mentioned, was a large ornamented cross in front of St. Paul's Cathedral. It was the great preaching-place on public occasions.

the very express likeness of that noble duke." It had been arranged that the protector should make his appearance at these words; and it was hoped that the people would be thus induced to cry, "God save King Richard!" but it was badly managed: Shaw was too quick, or the duke too slow. He did not enter till after the words had been uttered; the maladroitness repeated them; but the people easily saw through the device, and remained silent. The protector gave a look of anger; and the baffled divine slunk away to his own house, which it is said he never again left, dying shortly after of pure chagrin.

This plan having failed, it was resolved to employ a nobler advocate. On the following Tuesday, June 24, Buckingham harangued the people at Guildhall; and, having alluded to the topics handled in the sermon on the last Sunday, maintained that the right to the crown lay with Richard. Still the people were silent. He then demanded an answer one way or the other; when a few hired voices from the end of the hall cried "King Richard!" He gave them his thanks; and requested them to accompany him next day to the protector.

The next morning, Buckingham, the mayor, and several lords and principal citizens, repaired to Baynard Castle, where Richard resided, and demanded an audience. Richard, affecting terror, would only show himself from a window. Buckingham then read an address, as from the estates of the realm, embodying the charges made against the king and his marriage, and calling on the Duke of Gloucester to assume the crown, to which he was lawful heir. Richard pretended great reluctance, and spoke of his affection for his nephews, and his aversion to royalty. "Sir," said Buckingham, "the free people of England will never submit to the rule of a bastard; and, if the lawful heir refuses the sceptre, they know where to find one who will gladly accept it." Richard paused at this bold language, and then declared that he felt it to be his duty to obey the voice of his people. The farce thus terminated, and on the following day he took possession of the throne.

Richard lost no time in giving the sanction of a coronation to his title. He and his wife, the Lady Anne Neville, were crowned on the 6th of July with great magnificence. He then proceeded to reward his adherents, and to seek to gain by clemency his opponents. Lord Stanley was set at liberty, and made steward of the household; his wife, the Countess of Richmond, bore the queen's train at the coronation; the Archbishop of York also was set free; and the Bishop of Ely was committed to the charge of Buckingham. The king then set forth on a progress through the kingdom: he visited Oxford, Gloucester, and Worcester, whence he went to Warwick, where he remained a week, and thence proceeded through Coventry, Leicester, Nottingham, and Pontefract to York. There, to gratify the people of the north, his most faithful adherents, he caused himself and his queen to be crowned over again, with the same pomp as in London.

It was during this progress that he filled up the measure of his guilt. He sent orders from Warwick to Sir Richard Brackenbury, lieutenant of the Tower, to put the two princes to death. Brackenbury, however, refused; and Sir James Tyrrel, master of the horse, was then sent with orders to receive the keys and custody of the Tower for one night. Brackenbury dared not refuse; and that very night Tyrrel went with Dighton, one of his grooms, and Forest, "a noted ruffian," to the chamber where the princes lay. He himself remained outside, while his agents went in and smothered the sleeping children with the bedclothes. They then called in Tyrrel to view the dead bodies; and, by his command, buried them at the foot of the staircase. All concerned were amply rewarded by the king: Brackenbury got manors and pensions, Tyrrel was made steward of the duchy of Cornwall and governor of Glamorganshire, Forest keeper of the wardrobe at Baynard Castle, and Dighton was appointed bailiff of Aiton in Staffordshire.*

* See Appendix (C).

At this very time there was an extensive conspiracy on foot to dethrone the usurper, and to set the rightful prince in his place ; and, what may excite surprise, the Duke of Buckingham was at the head of it. What his motives for so sudden a change could have been, it is difficult to say. He had throughout been Richard's chief supporter ; had been most amply rewarded, and had no ingratitude to complain of. He might have grown suspicious and fearful of the king whom he had set up ; he might have been urged by mortified vanity ; or, as it is said, the eloquence of his prisoner, Morton, bishop of Ely, might have wrought a change in him. He was, moreover, married to a sister of the Queen Elizabeth, and we know not what the influence of his wife may have been. At all events, he resolved to restore the young prince. Richard, however, when he discovered the plot, caused the death of the princes to be made public. This somewhat disconcerted the conspirators ; but, as they could not now recede, they gave ear to the proposal of the Bishop of Ely on the part of the Lancastrians, that they should offer the crown to Henry, earl of Richmond, the head of that party, on condition of his espousing Elizabeth, now the heiress of the house of York, and thus uniting the rival claims. All being agreed on, a messenger was sent to the earl, who was in Brittany, to hasten his return to England ; and the 18th of October was fixed as the day for a general rising.

On the appointed day, the Marquis of Dorset proclaimed Henry at Exeter ; the Bishop of Salisbury did the same in Wiltshire ; the gentry of Kent met at Maidstone ; those of Berks at Newbury ; and Buckingham assembled his Welshmen at Brecknock. Richard, who had already proclaimed the duke a traitor, joined his troops at Leicester on the 28th of October, where he issued another proclamation, vaunting his zeal for morality, calling his enemies " traitors, adulterers," etc., whose chief object was " the letting of virtue and the damnable maintenance of vice," and

offering pardon to those who should leave, and rewards to those who should take them.

Fortune, moreover, stood his friend. Henry, who had sailed with forty ships from St. Malo, was driven back by tempests; and Buckingham, when he had led his men through the forest of Dean to the Severn, found the bridges broken, and the river so swollen by the rains as to be nowhere fordable. His followers lost spirit and dispersed; he himself and Morton took refuge at Webly, the seat of Lord Ferres, whence the latter proceeded in disguise to the Isle of Ely, and thence escaped to Flanders; the duke also made his way in disguise to the house of one Ralph Bannister, his servant, near Shrewsbury, but was discovered, through the perfidy of his host, or the imprudence of those who knew of his retreat. He was taken and led to Richard, who was now at Salisbury; his solicitations for an audience were rejected;* and, on the 2d of November, his head was struck off in the market. Dorset and the Bishop of Exeter made their escape to Brittany, most of the others concealed themselves, and very few executions took place.

Richard thought he might now venture to summon a parliament. Whether, as it is said, fear was the motive or not, no more obsequious assembly could be than that which met on the 11th of November. His title was fully recognised, and the succession settled on his son Edward prince of Wales. An act of attainder and forfeiture was then passed against the heads of the late insurrection; and another act, abrogating and annulling for ever all exactions under the name of benevolence.

Though Richard had caused the marriage of his brother to be declared null, and had deprived his widow of her dower as queen, he knew that the validity of that marriage was generally acknowledged, and that the Yorkists now regarded her eldest daughter as the rightful heir to the crown. He had also learned that, at

* Buckingham's son declared that it had been his father's intention, had he been admitted into Richard's presence, to rush on him and stab him with a knife, which he had concealed about him.

the festival of Christmas, five hundred of the Yorkist exiles had sworn fealty to Henry in Brittany, on his pledging himself to make her his queen in case of his defeating the usurper. To counteract this plan, he addressed himself to the queen-dowager; and, having pledged himself by a solemn oath that they should be treated with all due respect as his kinswomen, he induced her and her daughters to quit the sanctuary, and come to court on the 1st of March, 1484. It seems to have been his intention to marry the Princess Elizabeth, whom he treated with marked attention, to his son Edward. But the very next month this young prince died suddenly, to the extreme grief of both his parents. The king's favour to Elizabeth, however, continued unchanged; and she was attached to the person of the queen. John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, son to the king's sister, the Duchess of Suffolk, was declared heir presumptive to the crown.

At Christmas the king held his court at Westminster with extraordinary magnificence; and it was remarked that his niece always appeared attired like the queen. Soon after the latter fell sick, and Richard immediately offered his hand to Elizabeth; assuring her that the queen would die in February, and that he would then procure a dispensation from Rome for their marriage. To the disgrace of the queen-dowager, she gave a ready consent to the union of her daughter with the murderer of her brother and her three sons; and an extant letter of the princess shows the indecent impatience which she felt for this unnatural marriage.* Queen Anne did in effect die ere long, viz., on the 16th of March; and there are grounds for suspecting that he who foretold her death took means to cause his prophecy to be fulfilled. But now an unexpected difficulty arose. When he communicated his project to Ratcliffe and Catesby, his chief advisers and confidants,† they opposed it in the strongest man-

* See Appendix (D).

† "The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel our dog,
Rule all England under the hog,"

was a popular distich at this time. It cost its author his life. The "bristled boar" was Richard's cognisance.

ner; representing how the moral feeling of the nation would be shocked by this incestuous union, which would convert to certainty the suspicion which people had, of his having removed his queen by poison; and this might deprive him of the support of the men of the north, who were attached to him chiefly on her account, as the daughter of Warwick. It is said that their secret motive, however, was fear lest Elizabeth should take vengeance for the murder of her family. Their arguments prevailed; and, in the hall of the Temple, Richard solemnly declared before the mayor, aldermen, and commoners, that he never had thought of such a marriage. He wrote to the same effect to the citizens of York.

The mind of the king is now said to have become a prey to terror and anxiety; and he was haunted, we are told, by fearful dreams, caused by his crimes. His money, too, was all expended; he could not venture to apply to parliament; and he was therefore obliged, under another name, to levy benevolences (which had been abolished in his preceding parliament) on the citizens, which lost him their favour. Many now deserted to Henry; and the Lord Stanley, whose influence was great, and who was married to Henry's mother, caused the king great uneasiness, though he had lavished favours on him, and Stanley had never given him the slightest ground for suspicion. To secure the fidelity of that nobleman, he retained his son, Lord Strange, at court by way of a hostage.

At length, being assured that the King of France had given Henry permission to hire troops, and that a fleet lay ready at the mouth of the Seine, Richard put forth a proclamation on the 23d of June, calling the exiles "murderers, adulterers, and extortioners;" and asserting that Henry meditated unheard-of slaughters and confiscations, &c., and calling on all true Englishmen to aid him in the defence of their wives and properties. He then fixed his headquarters at Nottingham, on the 24th of July; and, ere long, he received intelligence of the landing of Henry at Milford Haven, on the 7th of August.

Henry marched through North Wales, where, though none opposed, few joined him ; and, when he reached Shrewsbury, he had but four thousand men. Urged by the secret assurances of many who could not yet declare themselves, he still pressed on towards Leicester, where Richard now lay with a numerous army ; having been joined by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Northumberland, and lords Lovel and Brackenbury, with their levies. Lord Stanley had excused himself, under the pretext of illness ; but his son being detected in an attempt to escape, he was obliged, in order to save him, to hasten to join the royal standard.

On the 21st of August Richard moved from Leicester, and encamped about two miles from the town of Bosworth. Henry, having been joined by the Stanleys, moved from Tamworth to Atherston, and next morning both armies advanced to Redmore. Henry had now six thousand men, his rival double the number. Richard was dismayed when he saw the Stanleys opposed to him ; but he roused his wonted courage. The vanguards, under the Duke of Norfolk and the earls of Oxford, engaged for some time ; Richard then seeing Northumberland inactive, and the rest of his troops wavering, spurred his horse and rushed, crying "Treason, treason !" to where he espied Henry. He killed Sir William Brandon, the standard-bearer, unhorsed Sir John Cheney, and had made a furious blow at Henry himself, which was warded off by Sir William Stanley, when he was thrown from his horse and slain. Lord Stanley, taking up the crown which he wore, placed it on the head of Henry ; and shouts of "Long live King Henry !" were instantly raised. The Duke of Norfolk, Lord Ferrers, Ratcliffe, and Brackenbury, with about three thousand men, were slain ; while the victors lost but one hundred men. The body of Richard was stripped, thrown across a horse, and carried to Leicester, where it was interred in the church of the Grey friars. The blood of Catesby and two others alone was shed after the victory.

Richard was but two-and-thirty years old when he thus perished, the victim of his ambition. In his person he was small; and the defect in his left arm, and an elevation of one shoulder, deformed him in some measure; but his face was handsome, and like his father's. There is no foundation for the common tale of his having been born with teeth; and only what we have stated for that of his being hump-backed. He was brave, loved magnificence, and justice also when it did not interfere with his ambition; but, in the gratification of this passion, we have seen that he would stop at no crime. Had he come honestly by his crown, he might have worn it to his own honour and to the advantage of his people.*

With Richard ended the Plantagenet dynasty, which had ruled England nearly three centuries and a half; and the battle of Bosworth terminated the Civil Wars of the Roses, which, with intermissions, had lasted for a space of thirty years. It was a remarkable feature in these wars, that the evils of them fell chiefly on the nobility; for, with one exception, the slaughter in the field was not considerable; and there was none of that petty warfare in different parts of the country, by which, in civil wars which interest the feelings and passions of the middle and lower classes, so much more blood is shed than in regular battles. Successive generations of the houses of Neville, Pole, and Clifford, were cut off on the field or the scaffold, and many were reduced to the most abject

* The preceding account of the life and actions of this monarch would hardly seem to justify so favourable a character as is here given of him. But little good, we think, could be expected, under any circumstances, from a man capable of committing such enormous crimes. Hume says of him, that a life so infamous did not deserve so glorious a death; and Russell calls him a blood-thirsty tyrant. His bravery (if deeds of bloody daring deserve that name) is no more worthy of praise than the ferocity of the tiger. It only made him the more deadly and dangerous. Such monsters of wickedness should be held up to the unmitigated execration and scorn of mankind.—*Am. Ed.*

state of poverty.* “I myself,” says Comines, “saw the Duke of Exeter, the King of England’s brother-in-law, walking barefoot after the Duke of Burgundy’s train, and earning his bread from door to door.” “In my remembrance,” says the same writer, “eighty princes of the blood royal of England perished in these convulsions; seven or eight battles were fought in the course of thirty years; their own country was desolated by the English as cruelly as the former generation had wasted France.” In this, however, there seems to be some exaggeration: there certainly did not fall that number of princes of the blood, neither could the desolation have been so very great.

CHAPTER XIV.

STATE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Nature of the Constitution.—Abuses of Prerogative.—Wardship and Escheat.—Forest Laws.—Constables’ and Marshals’ Courts.—Purveyance.—Taxation.—Pardons.—Maintenance.—Army.—Navy.—Punishment of Crime.—Religion.

WE have thus brought our history to the end of the Plantagenet dynasty. As the feudal and papal period of England may be said to terminate with them (the next period being one of transition to the present altered condition of society), we will conclude it by a sketch of the political and religious state of the country at that time.

The constitution of England under the Plantagenets was a monarchy limited by laws, and which the king could not alter at his will. “A king of England,” says Sir John Fortescue, writing to the son of Henry VI., “cannot at his pleasure make any alterations in

* The story of the shepherd Lord Clifford, to which Wordsworth’s poetry has lent additional attractions, strongly resembles that of Feridoon in the romantic annals of Persia

the law of the land; for the nature of his government is not only regal, but political." Yet the king was not merely an hereditary executive magistrate: he had extensive prerogatives annexed to his dignity; and the great object of the patriots of this period was to limit these rights, and restrain their abuse. The redress of grievances was usually a matter of bargain between the king and parliament: *they* granting a subsidy, and *he* engaging to correct what was complained of. Still the kings would, when they had the power, go on in their old course; but the parliament, by perseverance, and by taking advantage of foreign wars, disputed successions, and other circumstances, gradually set limits to prerogative; and an able writer of the present day has with reason thus expressed himself:* "I know not whether there are any essential privileges of our countrymen, any fundamental securities against arbitrary power, so far as they depend upon positive institution, which may not be traced to the time when the house of Plantagenet filled the English throne."

The great cause of this rational limitation of power and establishment of the principles of true liberty seems to have been the peculiar situation of the English aristocracy. The nobles were not, like those of the Continent, the lords of extensive continuous territories, who might singly set the crown at defiance. Their manors lay scattered through various counties; the power of the sovereign could at once crush any refractory vassal; it was only by union among themselves, and by gaining the people to their side, that they could maintain their rights and limit the royal prerogative. In this manner the interests of the nobility became identified with those of the people; and hence their names are associated with every struggle for liberty throughout English history. This was farther increased by the remarkable circumstance, that the English was the only nobility which did not form a peculiar class or caste. In England, the ac-

* Hallam, p. 450, Harpers' edition.

tual holder of the title alone was noble : his sons and brothers were simple commoners, and ranked with the people. Hence arose that melting into one another of the various grades of society, to be found in no other monarchical country ; and, as the English nobles never claimed any exemption from taxes and other burdens, their privileges never excited jealousy or hatred. For all these advantages England is mainly indebted to the high power of the crown established by the Anglo-Norman monarchs, combined with the free principles of government transmitted by the Anglo-Saxons.

The abuses of the prerogative against which the efforts of English patriots were directed from the period of Magna Charta, were the following :

1. The feudal rights of wardship and escheat. Of the legality of these there could be no question ; but the exercise of them gave occasion to much injustice and oppression. The royal officers, for example, often, under the pretext of wardship, took possession of lands not held immediately of the crown : or they claimed as escheats lands of which the right heir was in existence, or seized as forfeited lands which had been entailed. The remedy in such cases was usually slow and uncertain ; and always expensive, as neither costs nor damages could be recovered against the crown.

2. The Forest Laws, though greatly tamed from their original ferocity, were still a source of oppression. The king's officers were frequently attempting to recover the *purlieus*, or those lands adjoining the forests which had originally belonged to them, but had been disafforested by the Charter of Forests ; and, though frequent perambulations had ascertained the proper limits of the forests, the holders of the purlieus were continually disturbed in their possessions.

3. The constable and marshal of England possessed a jurisdiction which, within the realm, only extended to military offences. They, however, frequently assumed the power of inquiring into treasons and felo-

nies, which were offences at common law, and even took on them to decide cases of trespass and civil contracts. As their court was not, like courts of law, regulated by fixed rules and principles, it was more easily converted into an instrument of oppression.

4. But no grievance seems to have been so galling as the abuse of *Purveyance*; that "outrageous and intolerable grievance and source of infinite damage to the people," as the parliament termed it in the reign of Edward III. *Purveyance*, of which traces may be discovered in the Anglo-Saxon times, was the right of taking, even without the consent of the owner, but at a fair price, provisions, and whatever else was requisite, for the king and his household. It also extended to the right of impressing horses and carriages when the king was on a journey, and of providing lodgings for his train. As the purveyors set the prices of the articles which they took, and usually paid for them by tallies on the exchequer, the people had not only to endure their insolence, but to see too low a price set on their goods; often to see them taken without any payment at all, and very generally to find the exchequer empty when they presented their tallies. To aggravate the evil, not only the king, but several of the great lords, especially in turbulent times, claimed the right of *purveyance*. The commons made every effort, but in vain, to restrain this oppressive prerogative: it continued till the final demise of feudalism.

5. The abuses of taxation. The principle of tallages and of the subsidies which succeeded them, was, that a man should give a certain proportion of his moveable property to the crown. It was therefore the interest of the payer to estimate his property as low, and of the tax-gatherer to estimate it as high, as possible. Complaints were therefore continually made of the collectors entering men's houses, and searching their most secret apartments. In the eighth year of Edward III., the king directed those who were to levy the subsidy then granted, to compound with

the different townships for a certain sum, which they were to raise among themselves, in what manner they pleased. This, then, became the rule ; and henceforth tenths and fifteenths were regarded as fixed sums, estimated by the assessment of 8 Edw. III. The other sources of revenue, namely, the duties on wool, hides, and other exports, and the tonnage and poundage, or two shillings on every tun of wine, and sixpence on every pound of other goods imported, and the tolls at fairs, markets, etc., gave abundant occasions for complaint of the extortions of the royal officers.

6. Another grievance, which was a frequent subject of complaint, was the abuse of the prerogative of granting pardons. Robbers and other felons were thus continually withdrawn from the hands of justice, by the influence of some nobleman who protected them, or who sold them his good offices. In a petition of the commons, in the twenty-second of Edward III., they pray that, "whereas it is notorious how robbers and malefactors infest the country, the king would charge the great men of the land that none such be maintained by them, privily or openly ; but that they lend assistance to arrest and take such evil-doers." For the barons, as the feudal system declined, sought to keep up their power and influence by having at their devotion large bodies of dependants. These men were mostly of lawless and irregular habits ; and, if they lent their lord the aid of their arms in his private broils and contests, they expected to be supported by him in return, when, for their misdeeds, they had fallen into the hands of justice. As it was the custom of the lords to give liveries and badges to their retainers, which acted as a mark of union among them, statutes, as we have seen, were made to restrain this practice ; but they were generally treated with neglect, and liveries were given as before.

Another practice of the nobles, also a subject of constant complaint, was that of *Maintenance*, or confederating to support each other in legal suits. Men were thus enabled to make forcible entry on lands which they claimed ; and the course of justice was

impeded by influence or intimidation; parties in a suit, for example, being often prevented from appearing by armed bodies of men.

During the Plantagenet period, the mode of raising armies underwent some alteration. As the feudal system was only adapted to defensive warfare, the kings, in their wars with France and Scotland, chiefly employed mercenary forces; not merely the soldiers of fortune who were then so plentiful, but their own barons and knights, with whom they contracted for the service of themselves and their military followers, for certain periods, at certain rates. The crown, however, frequently stretched its power, and forced the counties to send men-at-arms, and other soldiers, to serve in the royal army. They were to receive pay from the king; but the expense of equipping the inferior men, and sending them to the army (known by the name of coat-and-conduct money), mostly fell on the counties, and was the subject of constant complaint.

The troops consisted of, 1. Men-at-arms: these were the same as during the former period, except that now they wore plate-armour instead of the less cumbrous mail. 2. Hobblers, a species of light cavalry. 3. Archers, who bore bows six feet in length, from which they sent those showers of arrows, a cloth-yard long, which won Creci and so many other fields. Occasionally the archers were mounted on horseback. 4. The remaining foot-soldiers bearing spears; among whom were generally a body of Welsh armed with lances and long knives, and frequently bands of the native Irish.

The pay of these troops was enormously high: an earl or baron receiving from 6*s.* 8*d.* to 8*s.* a day, a banneret* 4*s.*, a knight 2*s.*, an esquire or man-at-arms 1*s.*, a hobbler or mounted archer 6*d.*, a foot-archer 3*d.*,

* A banneret was of an order of nobility between a baron and knight or esquire; corresponding to that of baronet at the present day.—See Hallam's *Middle Ages*, p. 413, Harpers' ed.—*Am. Ed.*

the rest 2*d.* Money is generally thought to have been of ten times more value then than it is now.*

The royal navy was very small, consisting of merely a few galleys and other ships. The Cinque Ports were, by their charter, obliged to furnish a fleet of fifty-seven sail whenever they were called on; and the crown exercised the prerogative of pressing merchant vessels and seamen at its will. As cannon did not yet form a part of the equipment of a man-of-war, a merchant-man became such by merely putting soldiers on board instead of a cargo: the usual complement was sixty archers and forty other armed men. Both sailors and soldiers were paid by the crown: the seaman's pay was 3*d.* a day.

The punishments of crime in this period were severe, and in many cases barbarous. A vigorous state of the public mind seems connected with a stern and rigorous execution of justice. Robbers and other felons (if not saved in the way already mentioned) were hung without mercy. The *Peine forte et dure* (severe and merciless torture) came into use in this period. This was employed when a prisoner refused to answer. He was laid on his back, naked, in a low, dark chamber; and as great a weight of iron as he could bear, or perhaps more, was laid on him. On the first day he got three morsels of coarse bread; on the second, three draughts of standing water; and so on, till he answered or died.†

Nothing could be more barbarous than the practice of embowelling traitors. The following account, in

* Admitting the value of money to have been ten times greater then than at the present time, the daily pay of an earl or baron in the king's service was from \$16 to \$19.20; that of a banneret, \$9.60; of a knight, \$4.80; of an esquire or man-at-arms, \$2.40; of a hobbler or mounted archer, \$1.20; of a foot-archer, 60 cts.; and of the other soldiers, 40 cts. This certainly greatly exceeds the pay for service in the European armies at the present day. The pay of a Russian foot-soldier is about two cents a day, besides his rations and clothing.—*Am. Ed.*

† This was not abolished by law till the middle of the 18th century.

the case of Sir Thomas Blount, executed in the first year of Henry IV., will give a lively idea of it.* “He was hanged, but the halter was soon cut, and he was made to sit on a bench before a great fire, and the executioner came with a razor in his hand and knelt before Sir Thomas, whose hands were tied, begging him to pardon his death, as he must do his office. Sir Thomas asked, ‘Are you the person appointed to deliver me from this world?’ The executioner answered, ‘Yes, sir; I pray you pardon me.’ And Sir Thomas kissed him and pardoned him his death. The executioner knelt down and opened his body, and cut out his bowels straight from below the stomach, and tied them with a string, that the wind of the heart should not escape, and threw the bowels into the fire. Then Sir Thomas was sitting before the fire, and his bowels burning before him. Sir Thomas Erpyngham, the king’s chamberlain, insulting Blount, said to him in derision, ‘Go seek a master that can cure you.’ Blount only answered, ‘*Te deum laudamus* (praised be God), blessed be the day on which I was born, and blessed be this day; for I shall die in the service of my sovereign lord, the noble King Richard.’ The executioner knelt down before him, kissed him in an humble manner, and soon after his head was cut off, and he was quartered.”

The religious aspect of England at this time was also of a dark hue. We will briefly state what the religion of England really *was* in the fifteenth century.

Among the doctrines taught by the clergy was *transubstantiation*, or the doctrine which teaches that the bread and wine used in the Lord’s Supper are converted into the real body and blood of Christ. Pope Gregory VII. either rejected this doctrine, or shrank from establishing it by the papal authority; but the intrepid Innocent III., in the fourth council of Lateran, in 1215, declared it to be the doctrine of the church. Our fathers were farther taught to believe,

* Lingard, iv., 279, from a MS. Relacion, &c.

that the priest possessed the power of removing or mitigating the penalties of sin in the future world. They were told that, after death, the souls of all but innocent baptized babes, perfect saints, or the incorrigibly wicked, were sent to a place, which was named, from its nature, Purgatory; there to purge away by fire the stains of sin. The period of their sufferings might, however, be shortened by prayers and masses; and the dying sinner, if wealthy, could, by leaving money to the church, obtain a relaxation or remission of his torments. He might also, at any time during his life, by paying money or by visiting some place of devotion, obtain an *indulgence* to exempt him from the punishment due to one or more of his transgressions: for one drop of Christ's blood, it was said, sufficing to redeem the whole world, all the rest of His merits, which were infinite, together with all that the saints had done beyond what was necessary for their own salvation,* went to compose an inexhaustible depository of *merits* for the benefit of sinful men. The custody of this was committed to the Holy See; and money was the key that usually oped the precious treasure-house.

Not only Peter and Paul, and the other apostles, but numerous martyrs and confessors, were canonized. These beatified saints were supposed to see in God all that took place on earth; to listen to the prayers addressed to them by their votaries below; and to exercise their power or mediation in their favour. Above all in rank and power was the Virgin Mary; born, as it was said, without sin, dead without pain, and translated bodily, like her divine son, to heaven, where she still exercised over him the mild authority of a mother. Such were declared to be the Virgin and the saints in heaven: and on earth churches and festivals were dedicated, and prayers were offered to

* Called works of supererogation, as being over and above what was required by duty, and respecting which Archbishop Tillotson observes, "There is no such thing as works of supererogation: no man can do more than needs, and is his duty to do, by way of preparation for another world."—*Am. Ed.*

them ; their relics, that is, their bones, their hair, the very parings of their nails, and the fragments of their garments, or the implements of their torture, were enclosed in costly cases, adorned with precious gems, and worshipped by the people. Their images, especially those of the Virgin, were also the objects of adoration ; pilgrimages were made to them, and rich offerings deposited on their shrines.

The clergy themselves, we may believe, such was the deep and universal delusion and darkness of the times, believed implicitly in the popular religion. But their belief stood not in the way of their inventing the most monstrous and absurd fables of the miracles performed by the saints or their relics, and thus extorting money or lands from their credulous votaries. By means of these, and of the doctrines of purgatory and merits, the church had gradually contrived to gain possession of one fifth of the lands of the kingdom. The morals of the clergy, as were those of all classes in these dark and degenerate days, were in general profligate ; though, beyond question, there were among them many shining models of piety and goodness.

Ignorance and immorality are usual, though not necessary companions. We may, therefore, not be surprised to find that the great bulk of the clergy were grossly ignorant. But few of them knew the meaning of the prayers which they repeated daily in an unknown tongue ; and to read and study the Scriptures, even in the Latin version, was regarded as needless to those whose religion was almost totally made up of forms and ceremonies. The ignorance of the laity was still greater than that of their spiritual guides.

We are not, however, to suppose that the mind of Europe was totally enthralled to superstition in these times. It was far otherwise, as the dreadful crusade against the Albigenses, and the persecution of the Lollards and other heretics, as they were styled, too clearly prove. Though the spiritual power exerted itself to the utmost, though it filled the prisons with those who dared to think, and kindled the piles for those who refused to recant, the light of truth still continued

to spread, and more and more was sown every day of the seed which was destined to yield an abundant harvest of mental liberty. We have now strong grounds for believing that Dante, Petrarca, and their fellows, whose genius sheds so bright a lustre on the middle ages, were but the organs of an extensive sect or party, whose bond of union was hostility to the Papal See, its claims, its doctrines, and its practices.* The middle ages thus rise in moral dignity, while we view in them the struggle of man's intellectual nature against superstition upheld by fraud and cruelty; and we learn to acknowledge our debt of gratitude to the men, whose unremitting efforts achieved the victory of which we now enjoy the benefits.†

* The writer here alludes to what he regards as the extraordinary discoveries of his most valued friend, Professor Gabriele Rossetti, in his "Comento Analitico" on Dante, his "Spirito Antipapale de' Classici Italiani," and his "Misterio dell' Amor Platonico." He at the same time will not pledge himself for the correctness of all the theories and opinions in those important works, as on some points he differs with the profound and sagacious author.

† The canon of Holy Writ was as yet a "sealed book," not only to the great mass of the people of England, but throughout Christendom. It had, it is true, been translated by Wickliffe into the vernacular tongue; but then its distribution was watchfully forbidden and prevented, as though it were sinful for the people to read the very records on which their religious faith and hopes were founded. May we not, in a great measure, attribute to this absence of the Sacred Scriptures the dreadful state of demoralization, the shocking barbarities and corruptions, portrayed in the preceding pages? It has been undoubtedly the highest blessing of the Reformation, that it has spread far and wide a knowledge of the Word of God; nor is it possible, so long as the fountain of this knowledge remains unsealed, and its purifying and healing waters are permitted to flow freely over the moral waste of the world, that mankind, sinful and imperfect as they still are, should be plunged again into a night of intellectual and moral darkness, such as overshadowed the middle ages. We cannot over estimate the extent of our obligations for the improved moral, civil, and social condition of society to the teachings of this sacred book.
—*Am. Ed.*

HOUSE OF TUDOR.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY VII.*

1485-1509.

The Sweating Sickness.—King's Marriage.—Lambert Simnell.—Battle of Stoke.—Coronation of the Queen.—Affairs of Brittany.—Perkin Warbeck.—Execution of the Earl of Warwick.—Marriage and Death of Prince Arthur.—The King's Avarice.—His Death and Character.

THE first act of the new king was to direct, that the Princess Elizabeth and her cousin, the Earl of Warwick, whom the late usurper had placed at Sheriff-Hutton in Yorkshire, should be conveyed to London: the former to be restored to her mother, the latter to be immured in the Tower. He then proceeded by easy journeys to the capital. On the 28th of August the lord-mayor and aldermen met him without the city. He passed through the streets in a close litter to St. Paul's, where a *Te Deum* was chanted, and then took up his abode at the house of the bishop. While there, he solemnly renewed his engagement to marry the Princess Elizabeth; but declined espousing her till after he had been crowned and held a parliament.

The coronation would have taken place immediately but for the prevalence of a disease, named, from its nature, the Sweating Sickness. It was a rapid fever, carrying people off in four-and-twenty hours; and, if they survived this length of time, they were almost sure of recovery. It continued only a month; and was believed to be in the atmosphere, and not an epidemic or contagious malady.

* Authorities: Bacon, Polydore Virgil, Hall, Fabyan, and the other chroniclers.

The king was crowned on the 30th of October by the primate. He was frugal of his honours on this occasion; only making twelve bannerets, and raising his uncle, Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, to the dignity of Duke of Bedford, Lord Stanley to that of Earl of Derby, and Sir Edward Courtenay to that of Earl of Devon. He appointed a body of archers to attend him in future, under pretext of imitating the state of foreign princes. They were named Yeomen of the Guard.*

When parliament met, on the 11th of November, the most important matter which occupied it was the settlement of the crown. Henry's title rested on three grounds: his pledged marriage with Elizabeth, his descent from the house of Lancaster, and the right of conquest. The last was too odious to be put forward prominently; while the first was disagreeable to his own prejudices and those of his Lancastrian adherents, and would only secure the succession to his issue by Elizabeth. "He therefore," says Bacon, "rested on the title of Lancaster in the main,† using the marriage and the victory as supporters;" and in the act of settlement it was merely declared, that "the inheritance of the crown should be, rest, remain, and abide in the most royal person of the then sovereign lord King Henry VII. and the heirs of his body lawfully coming." As all mention of the princess seemed studiously avoided, those of both parties who had looked forward to the termination of the differences between the white and the red rose, grew alarmed. Shortly after, on the 10th of December, the commons took occasion to petition the king to take the princess to wife: the peers readily expressed their concurrence; Henry gave a gracious promise; and, during

* The soldiers composing the body-guard of the English sovereigns are still distinguished by this name.—*Am. Ed.*

† No title could be weaker than this. Henry claimed through his mother (who was still alive), the sole heiress of the Duke of Somerset, descended from one of the children whom Catharine Swynford bore to John of Gaunt before marriage, and who, when legitimated, were expressly excluded from all claim to the crown.

the recess, on the 18th of January, 1486, he espoused Elizabeth.

In this parliament, an act of attainder was passed against Richard III. duke of Norfolk, his son the Earl of Surrey, the lords Lovel, Zouch, Ferrers, and about twenty-four others : all grants made by the crown since the 34th of Henry VI. were resumed ; and a general pardon was issued, in the king's name, to all the adherents of the late usurper.

After the dissolution, the king set out on a progress through the kingdom ; and, as the north had been most attached to Richard, he proceeded thither first, hoping to gain the people by spending the summer among them. While he was keeping Easter at Lincoln, he heard that Lord Lovel had left his sanctuary at Colchester ; and, when he reached Pontefract, he learned farther that he had raised a force, and intended surprising him on his entry into York. But this lord, finding the royal train too numerous, gave up his project ; and, having permitted his followers to disperse, made his own escape to Flanders. The king remained three weeks at York, and then returned to London, by way of Worcester, Gloucester, and Bristol. During his absence, the queen held her court at Winchester, with her mother and sisters, and her mother-in-law, the Countess of Richmond. Here, on the 20th of September, she gave birth to her first child, a son, who was named Arthur, after the famous British hero, from whose lineage the king affected to be sprung on the father's side.

The evident favour shown by the king to the Lancastrian party gave great offence to the Yorkists ; they were also displeased at the want of respect to the queen in deferring her coronation ; the manners of the king too were cold and repulsive, totally different from those of the former kings of England. This state of discontent was taken advantage of for introducing the most extraordinary imposture recorded in history ; for, though many have personated dead or missing princes, who ever heard of an impostor

pretending to be a prince who was known to be alive, and could be produced at any time ?

There was a priest at Oxford named Richard Simons or Symmonds : a man of a subtle, enterprising temper. He had a pupil about the age of fifteen years, named Lambert Simnell, the son of a baker, or, as others said, of an organ-maker. This youth was of a handsome, engaging countenance ; and the priest, whether actuated by hopes of great advantages to himself if the imposture should succeed, or, as is more probable, acting merely as the agent of higher persons, instructed him to assume the character of Richard duke of York ; who, it was rumoured, had escaped from the Tower in the late reign. But, on a report of the escape of the young Earl of Warwick, Simons, or his directors, changed the plan ; and it was agreed that Simnell should personate this prince. As during the abode of the Duke of York in Ireland, as chief governor in the time of Henry VI., the Anglo-Irish had become strongly attached to his person, family, and cause, it was resolved that the drama should open in that country. Accordingly, Simons and his pupil landed in Dublin, where the Earl of Kildare, the lord deputy, without hesitation or inquiry, at once acknowledged the pretended Plantagenet. His example was followed by the nobility and people in general. The Butlers of Ormond, a few of the prelates, and the citizens of Waterford alone adhered to the cause of King Henry.

When these events reached the ears of Henry, he summoned a great council of peers and prelates ; and, by their advice, published a full pardon to all his former opponents : for the preceding one had been so clogged with conditions, and had been violated in so many points, as to have failed of its great object. He then had the Earl of Warwick led from the Tower to St. Paul's, and thence brought to the Palace of Shene, where the nobility and all others had daily opportunities of conversing with him. The king next (and this is a measure that has never been accounted for at all satisfactorily) seized the goods of the queen-dowager,

and confined her in the convent of Beirmundsey. The pretext assigned is, that she had put her daughters into the power of the late usurper; but surely, if she did so to make her daughter a queen, it was not to be thence inferred that she would now engage in a plot to dethrone her!

The Earl of Lincoln, whom Richard had declared heir to the throne, and whom Henry had treated with favour, now took the side of the pretender; and, having established a correspondence with Sir Thomas Broughton of Lancashire, went privately to the court of Margaret, the duchess-dowager of Burgandy, who, as Bacon observes, "having the spirit of a man and the malice of a woman, abounding in treasure by the greatness of her dower and her provident government, and being childless and without any nearer care, made it her design and enterprise to see the majesty royal of England once again replaced in her house; and she bare such a mortal hatred to the house of Lancaster, and personally to the king, as that she was no ways mollified by the conjunction of the houses in her niece's marriage, but rather hated her niece as the means of the king's ascent to the crown and assurance therein." This may account for Margaret's readily engaging in the project. As for Lincoln, he may have hoped, if the present king should be overthrown, to make good his title against the pretender, the real Warwick, and the daughters of King Edward.

Margaret having furnished Lincoln and Lord Lovel with a body of two thousand German veterans, commanded by an able officer named Martin Schwartz, they sailed for Ireland in 1487, and landed at Dublin. By the advice of Lincoln, the impostor was crowned on the 24th of May, as Edward VI., by the Bishop of Meath: a crown for the occasion having been taken from the statue of the Virgin. The new king was then borne from the cathedral to the castle, on the shoulders of a gigantic chieftain of English blood, named Darcy. A parliament was summoned, and immediate preparations were made for invading England; and, but ten days after, on the 4th of June, the

troops of the pretender effected a landing at Furness in Lancashire ; where, being joined by the tenantry of Sir Thomas Broughton, they pushed on for Yorkshire. The king in the mean time had assembled his troops at Kenilworth, whence he advanced to Nottingham. Every day he was joined by additional troops, while Lincoln found all his efforts vain to rouse the partisans of the house of York. He resolved to make himself, if possible, master of the town of Newark ; but the king got between him and that place, and, on the 16th, the two armies came in sight of each other at Stoke. Urged by despair, though his troops did not exceed eight thousand men, Lincoln accepted the proffered combat. The battle lasted but three hours, and ended in the destruction of the rebels, one half of whom were slain. Most of their leaders perished : Lincoln, Schwartz, Sir Thomas Broughton, the Earl of Kildare, and his brother, Maurice Fitzgerald, remained dead on the field. Lord Lovel was seen to escape, but he was never seen or heard of after.* Simons and his pupil were taken prisoners ; the former, being made to confess the imposture, was thrown into prison, where he died ; the latter was made a turnspit in the royal kitchen ; and he was afterward raised to the more important office of one of the king's falconers. Thus ended this strange insurrection.

The king, who always felt or affected great devotion, caused a *Te Deum* to be sung at Lincoln, whither he proceeded after the battle ; and he sent his banner to be offered to Our Lady of Walsingham, to whom he had made his vows. He then made a progress, or, rather, judicial circuit through the North, where he pun-

* "Towards the close of the 17th century, at his seat at Minster-Lovel in Oxfordshire, was discovered a chamber under ground, in which was the skeleton of a man seated in a chair, with his head reclined on a table. Hence it is supposed that the fugitive had found an asylum in this subterraneous chamber, where he was perhaps starved to death through neglect." (Lingard, from West's Furness, p. 210.) This incident has acquired additional interest from the use made of it in a romance, the scene of which is in the same neighbourhood.

ished the aiders and abettors of the rebels, in a few cases with death, but in most by fines and ransoms, which mode was more congenial to his feelings, as it brought money into his coffers. On his return to London, aware of the impolicy of having so long deferred the queen's coronation, he caused that ceremony to be performed with great magnificence. For this purpose, having been lodged, according to custom, in the Tower, she was conveyed on Saturday, November the 24th, to Westminster, in a litter, over which four knights held a canopy of cloth of gold. She was attired in white cloth of gold damask, with a mantle of the same, furred with ermine. "Her faire yelow haire," says our authority,* "hung downe pleyne byhynde her bak with a calle of pipes over it." Several other litters, and four baronesses mounted on gray palfreys, followed. On Sunday she was crowned; and she then dined in state in the hall. The Lady Catharine Grey and Mistress† Ditton went and sat at her feet under the table; and the countesses of Oxford and Rivers knelt at each side of her, holding a kerchief at times before her. The king viewed the whole from behind a lattice.

Henry was now able to turn his attention to foreign affairs; and, as the Scots were the people who could give him greatest annoyance, he took advantage of the friendly feeling which their king, James III., had towards him, to establish a truce for seven years between their respective kingdoms; and, to strengthen their amity, it was arranged that James, who was now a widower, should marry the queen-dowager, and his two sons two of her daughters.‡ This project, however, was frustrated, as the King of Scots was murdered the following year by his turbulent subjects. Henry renewed the truce with his son and successor.

* Leland, Coll., iv., 216, *seq.* ap. Lingard, v., 291.

† As we should now say, Miss. Mistress was formerly the title of unmarried young ladies.

‡ Rymer, xii., 329. This fact, first adverted to by Lingard (v. 293), seems to disprove completely the common notion, that Henry treated his mother-in-law with great and unnecessary harshness.

The affairs of Brittany were at this time in a very critical condition. It was the only one of the great fiefs, except Burgundy, which had not been reunited to the crown of France; its duke was far advanced in years, and his only children were two daughters. The eldest, Anne, who was now in her thirteenth year, was sought in marriage by Maximilian, king of the Romans, by the Duke of Orleans, and by the Lord d'Albret of Béarn. But the young King of France, Charles VIII., who, as being contracted to the daughter of Maximilian, could not seek the hand of Anne, was resolved to assert some ancient feudal claim, and take possession of the duchy. Some time after, the French troops entered Brittany; both sides applied to Henry. His parliament gave him funds, and urged him to aid the duke; but, though he took their money, he heeded not their advice. The French arms still advanced in 1488, and the duke was obliged to sign a treaty, allowing Charles to retain his conquests, and binding himself not to marry either of his daughters without the consent of his superior lord. A few weeks after, the duke and his youngest daughter both died. Charles then claimed the succession, renewed the war, and soon made himself master of one half of the duchy.

The English nation was eager to take the part of the persecuted princess. The parliament, when summoned, again freely granted supplies: "yet," says Bacon, "the subsidy granted bare a fruit that proved harsh and bitter. All was inned at last into the king's barn, but it was after a storm." The people of Durham and Yorkshire refused to pay the tax imposed on them; the collectors appealed to the Earl of Northumberland, who wrote to the court for instructions; the king replied that he would not abate a penny; the earl then assembled the freeholders, and delivered the harsh mandate in a harsh manner; the people became irritated; and, attacking the earl's house, slew himself and some of his servants. An insurrection now broke out, headed by Sir John Egremont and a low fellow named John à Chamber. The king sent troops

against them under the Earl of Surrey, whom he had pardoned and released from the Tower; and the insurgents were speedily routed. Egremont escaped to the Duchess of Burgundy; but Chamber was taken and executed at York.

A body of six thousand men, under Lord Willoughby de Brook, was now sent to Brittany; but, as they were forbidden to act on the offensive, they proved of little use; and, as soon as the six months of their service were expired, they returned home. The duchess afterward, in 1491, married Maximilian by proxy; but the King of France, having gained over her counsellors, and supporting their arguments by the terror of his arms, forced her to rescind that contract and become his queen.

Henry, seeing Brittany thus lost, resolved, since he could do nothing else, to make money out of the affair. He summoned a parliament; and, pretending great indignation, on the 15th of October declared his determination to make war on France. The parliament, always liberal on these occasions, readily granted two tenths and two fifteenths; and the king himself renewed the practice of extorting money under the title of benevolence. We are told of a dilemma used by the Chancellor Morton on this occasion, which some styled his fork, and others his crutch. He directed the commissioners that, "if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them that they must needs have, because they laid up; and, if they were spenders, they must needs have, because it was seen in their port and manner of living." So, as the historian says, neither kind came amiss; and the king, having thus got plenty of money, at length landed at Calais on the 2d of October, 1492, with a force of sixteen hundred men-at-arms and twenty-five thousand foot; whence he advanced in a few days, and laid siege to Boulogne. But this was all mere sham and pretence; for negotiations for peace were going on all the time, and a treaty of peace and amity was finally concluded on the 3d of November, Charles engaging to pay, at the rate of 25,000 francs (\$5000)

a year, the sum of £149,000 (\$715,000), in satisfaction of all claims on his queen, and of the arrears of the annuity due to Edward IV. Henry then returned to England; and his counsellors, who had all obtained presents and pensions from Charles, praised his wisdom and policy; but his nobles, many of whom had sold or pledged their estates to furnish themselves out for the war, were discontented, and said that "the king cared not to plume his nobility and people to feather himself."

The Duchess of Burgundy, by the classic fancy of the age, was styled the king's Juno; as being to him what that goddess was to the "pious Æneas." She was unrelenting in her hostility; and, "at this time," says Bacon, "the king began again to be haunted with spirits, by her magic and curious arts." For, on the 15th of May, just as he had declared war against France, a vessel from Portugal arrived at Cork in Ireland, on board of which was a young man of engaging mien, aged about twenty years. A rumour soon spread that he was Richard duke of York, who had escaped from the Tower. The answers he made, when questioned, satisfied his credulous auditors. The citizens, induced by O'Water, their late mayor, declared for him; and the Earl of Desmond, the great southern chief, did the same; but the Earl of Kildare, when applied to, returned an ambiguous answer. Ere the pretender advanced any farther, he received an invitation from Charles to repair to France, which he accepted; and, on his arrival, was treated as the true heir to the English crown. A guard of honour was assigned to him; and the exiles, to the number of one hundred, offered him their services. Henry hastened the peace; and, so soon as it was concluded, Charles ordered the pretender to quit his dominions, having now made all the use of him he had proposed. He sought refuge with Margaret of Burgundy, by whom he was received with open arms. She styled him the "White Rose of England," and gave him a guard of thirty halberdiers.

The English Yorkists, anxious to ascertain the truth,

sent over Sir Robert Clifford as their secret agent ; and he reported that he was the real Duke of York. The king also despatched his emissaries in 1493, in order to find out who he really was ; and the result of their inquiries is said to have been, that his name was Peterkin or Perkin (i. e., Little Peter) Osbeck or Warbeck, the son of a converted Jew of Tournay ; that, by frequenting the society of the English merchants in Flanders, he had acquired their language and manners ; that the Lady Margaret had fixed upon him as a proper person to personate her nephew ; and that, fearing he would be suspected if he came direct from Flanders, she had sent him to Lisbon in the service of Lady Brompton, the wife of one of the exiles. The king now required of the Archduke Philip, the sovereign of Burgundy, to banish or surrender Warbeck ; but he replied that he could not control the duchess in the lands of her dower. Henry, in revenge, withdrew the mart of English cloth from Antwerp, and forbade all intercourse between the two countries.

The gifts and promises of the king had gained Clifford, who communicated to him the names of the leading English Yorkists who were in correspondence with the partisans of the pretender ; and, on the same day, in 1494, the Lord Fitzwalter and several others were arrested on a charge of treason. Sentence of death was passed on them. Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, and Robert Radcliffe, were executed at once ; Fitzwalter was imprisoned at Calais, and the rest were pardoned. But a greater victim was to fall. After celebrating Christmas, Henry, on the 7th of January, 1495, removed his court to the Tower, where Clifford was brought before him, and received his pardon on his knees. Being required to reveal all he knew of the conspiracy, he named the lord-chamberlain, Sir William Stanley, who had saved the king's life at Bosworth. The king affected great horror, and refused to believe him ; Clifford persisted, and Stanley, when examined the next day, actually confessed the charge. He was tried, condemned, and some time

after beheaded; and, as his personal property, much exceeding 40,000 marks (\$102,000), and his lands, yielding £3000 (\$14,400) a year "of old rent," says Bacon, "a great matter in those times," fell to the king, they were thought to have stood in the way of his pardon. It is, however, probable that he was really guilty of some words or acts inconsistent with perfect loyalty. The chief charge against him seems to have been his having said, "If I were sure that that young man were King Edward's son, I would never bear arms against him."*

The pretender had now lain idle for three years, and the Flemings and the archduke were complaining of the losses which he caused them. He therefore found it necessary to make an effort; and, while Henry was spending some time with his mother at Latham, in Lancashire, he landed a few hundred adventurers at Deal in Kent, on the 3d of July. But the people of the country rose, killed several of them, took one hundred and fifty prisoners, and drove the rest to their boats. The prisoners were led to London, "all railed in ropes, like a team of horses in cart;" and, by the king's order, they were hanged there, or on different parts of the coast. Perkin returned to the Netherlands; but the great treaty of commerce which was signed the next year between them and England having deprived him of his asylum there, he put to sea once more. He now, in 1496, sailed to Cork; but he found no countenance there, as Henry had secured the obedience of the Irish. He

* Avarice was the ruling passion of Henry; and there would seem to be little doubt that, to gratify this base and grasping passion, he abstained not from sacrificing the man to whom he was indebted for his life and kingdom. "It would have been wonderful," says Sir James Mackintosh, "if, under the reign of a miser and extortioner, one principal motive to the execution were not believed to be the confiscation of the property of the most affluent of English noblemen. Indeed, the causes of Stanley's monstrous execution assigned by Bacon, an historian sufficiently favourable to the king, are such as to warrant very odious suspicions"—Mackintosh's *History of England*, ii., 72, Harpers' edition.
—*Am. Ed.*

therefore departed, and directed his course to Scotland; where, having, it is said, presented to King James letters from the King of France and the Lady Margaret, he was received with all due honour; and the king gave him in marriage the Lady Catharine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntley, and a near relation of his own. In the winter of 1497, the king assembled an army of borderers and invaded Northumberland; the adventurer, who had a body of about fourteen hundred English and other outlaws with him, issued a proclamation, calling on his loyal subjects to arm in his cause, and enumerating the crimes of Henry Tudor, as he styled the king. But the English took no heed. The King of Scots then began to burn and waste the country; at which Perkin, it is said, was, or affected to be, greatly moved, declaring "that no crown was so dear to his mind as that he desired to purchase it with the blood and ruin of his country." James, half in jest, made answer, "that he doubted much he was careful for that was none of his; and that he should be too good a steward for his enemy to save the country to his use."

The king used the pretext of this inroad to call a parliament and obtain a subsidy. The tax was paid in most places; but in Cornwall the people, excited by the harangues of one Michael Joseph, a blacksmith or farrier of Bodmin, and one Thomas Flammock, a prating lawyer, assembled in arms, to the number of sixteen thousand men, and marched to London, to petition the king to punish the primate Morton and Sir Reginald Grey, whom they regarded as the authors of this impost. At Wells they were joined by the Lord Audley, whom they made their leader. They then advanced into Kent, and encamped on Blackheath, within view of London. The king, who had his troops assembled, prepared to give them battle. He divided his army into three parts; of which one, under the Earl of Oxford, was to get in the rear of the hill on which the rebels were posted; the second, under D'Aubigny, the lord-chamberlain, was to attack

them in front; while the third, under himself in person, was to remain as a reserve in St. George's Fields. On Saturday, June 22d (the king's lucky day, as he esteemed it), the attack was made. The advanced guard of the rebels defended Deptford Bridge at first stoutly; but they were at length driven back to their main body. D'Aubigny then gained the hill, and they scattered and fled in all directions. About two thousand of them were slain, and fifteen hundred taken, among which last were their three leaders. Lord Audley was beheaded; Flammock and Joseph were hanged at Tyburn, and all the rest were pardoned.

Meantime the King of Scots again poured his light troops over the borders, and scoured the country as far as the Tees; but, on the approach of the Earl of Surrey, he retired; and soon after, under the mediation of the Spanish ambassador, a truce for seven years was concluded. The pretender then left Scotland; and, having made another ineffectual attempt at Cork, sailed over to Whitsand Bay, in Cornwall, whence he advanced to Bodmin, and raised the banner of Richard IV. The Cornishmen, to the number of three thousand, repaired to him; and his army was doubled by the time he reached Exeter, to which town he laid siege. But, the citizens defending themselves valiantly, and the nobility and gentry of the county coming to their aid, he retired, and led his men towards Taunton, at which place the royal army had now arrived. During the day, on the 20th of September, he made all ready for battle with great alacrity; but, about midnight, he secretly departed with about sixty horse, and took sanctuary at Bewdley or Beaulieu, in the New Forest. The rebels next day, finding themselves abandoned, submitted, and were all pardoned, except a few of the ringleaders. Some horsemen were sent to St. Michael's Mount, to take the Lady Catharine Gordon, who had been left there by her husband, "whom," says the historian, "in all fortunes she entirely loved, adding the virtues of a wife to the virtues of her sex." When she was

brought to the king, he treated her with great kindness; and he afterward placed her about the queen, and assigned her an honourable pension. The name of the White Rose, originally "given to her husband's false title, was continued in common speech to her true beauty."*

A guard was placed round the sanctuary, to prevent the escape of Perkin; and, seeing that he had no hopes remaining, on the 5th of October he consented to leave it on promise of a pardon. The king did not admit him into his presence, but he had his liberty, and, on the return to London, he rode in the royal suite. On the way, multitudes flocked to gaze on him. When they came to London, he was led on horseback through the city to the Tower, and back to Westminster. He was ordered not to quit the precincts of the palace; and was repeatedly examined about his history, a portion of which, as he related it, was made public. After six months, being weary of restraint, he contrived to escape, and made for the coast; but he was so closely pursued, that he took sanctuary once more at the priory of Bethlehem at Shene. At the request of the prior, the king granted him his life; but he was made to stand an entire day in the stocks at Westminster Hall, and the next day in Cheapside, and to read aloud the confession which he had made and signed. He was then, in 1498, committed to the Tower.

In his imprisonment Warbeck contrived to form an intimacy with the unhappy Earl of Warwick. This ill-fated youth had spent nearly his whole life in prison, merely because he happened to be a real Plantagenet. Being secluded from all society, his faculties were never developed; and his ignorance was such, that, as the chronicler says, "he could not discern a goose from a capon." He gave in to the projects of the pretender for their escape; and four

* She afterward married a Welsh knight, named Sir Matthew Craddock (or Caradoc); and lies buried in the church of Swansea.

servants of the lieutenant, it is said, were gained, who were to murder their master and then convey the prisoners to a place of safety. But the plot was discovered in time; Perkin was then tried and convicted of treasons committed by him after his landing in the kingdom; and, on the 16th of November, he was executed at Tyburn, where he once more read his confession and averred its truth.* Warwick was arraigned before the house of peers, for conspiring with Perkin to raise sedition and to destroy the king; the poor innocent youth pleaded guilty, and was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 28th of November.

Such was the end of the last male of the Plantagenets. His fate was lamented by the whole nation; and people did not hesitate to say, that the late plot had been only a device of the king, to have a pretext for destroying him: for he felt that, as long as Warwick lived, he had no chance of peace. Even this very year, a young man of Suffolk, named Ralph Wilford, aided by one Patrick, a friar, had personated the young earl in Kent; and, though they had no success, and the former was executed and the latter imprisoned for life, the attempt might be renewed. Those odious reasons of state, which are held to justify every crime, might therefore have induced the king to seize, if not make, the pretext for freeing himself from apprehension by shedding guiltless blood. But we are assured that it was not so much anxiety for his own safety, as the desire of procuring a high alliance for his son, that actuated Henry. He had been for some time in treaty with Ferdinand, king of Aragon, for a match between his eldest son and the infanta Catharine; and he caused, it is said, letters out of Spain to be shown at this time, in which Ferdinand had written to him, "that he saw no hopes of his succession as long as the Earl of Warwick lived; and that he was loath to send his daughter to troubles and dangers;" and, many years after, that princess, on a sad occasion, declared "that *she* had not offended, but it

* See Appendix (E).

was a judgment of God, for that her former marriage was made in blood."*†

The king now had rest for the remainder of his reign. The state of almost constant hostility with Scotland was terminated in 1503, by a marriage between the King of Scots and Henry's eldest daughter Margaret. When some of his council expressed their fears that, in case of the failure of the male line, England might fall to the King of Scotland, the more sagacious monarch replied, "that, if that should be, Scotland would be but an accession to England, for that the greater would draw the less." Time has verified the prediction.

The long-projected marriage between Prince Arthur and the Spanish infanta took place on the 14th of November, 1501, as soon as the prince had passed his fifteenth year. There were splendid festivities on the occasion; and Ludlow, in Shropshire, was fixed upon as the abode of the young couple. But their connubial felicity was destined to an early blight; for the amiable and accomplished prince fell sick, and died in the spring of the following year. The king, as soon as he overcame his grief, which was great, began to think how he still might retain the Spanish connexion, and get the princess's portion, which was

* "Lord Bacon," says Mackintosh, "a witness against Henry above exception, positively affirms, that the flagitious correspondence had been seen in England; and that it was shown by the king to excuse his assent to a deed of blood." Lingard, who would not willingly hear anything bad of Ferdinand the Catholic, speaks of it as a mere "report to remove the odium from the king." Cardinal Pole, however, Warwick's nephew, seems to have believed it; for his biographers Beccatelli and Dudith both assert it, and evidently on his authority.

† Sir James Mackintosh is clearly of the opinion that this whole affair was a plan got up by Henry himself, and for the reasons here stated, to rid himself of Warwick. In speaking of the character of the transaction, he says, "The extinction of such a harmless and joyless life, in defiance of justice and in the face of mankind, is a deed which should seem to be incapable of aggravation; but the motives of this merciless murder, the base interests to which the victim was sacrificed, and the horrible coolness of the two veteran tyrants who devised the crime, are aggravations perhaps without parallel."—*Am. Ed.*

200,000 crowns (\$226,000); and, for this purpose, when it had become apparent that the late marriage had been fruitless,* it was arranged that his second son Henry, who was now twelve years old, should espouse his brother's widow when he attained the age of fifteen. The primate Warham strongly objected to this course, as contrary to the divine law; but his scruples were not regarded; and the necessary bull of dispensation was easily procured from Pope Julius II.

The following year, 1503, Henry lost his queen. As the dowager queen of Naples had been left an immense property by her husband, he had thoughts of seeking her hand; but when he learned that the reigning king refused to let the devise be executed, he laid his plan aside.

On the death of Isabel, queen of Castile, her crown devolved to her daughter Joanna, who was married to the Archduke Philip. As the new king and queen were sailing from the Netherlands to Spain in 1506, stress of weather drove them into Weymouth. As soon as Henry heard of their arrival, he sent to invite them to his court at Windsor, where he detained them for three months; in which time he made Philip consent to a treaty of commerce, more to the advantage of England than the former one, and also to his marriage with his sister the dowager Duchess of Savoy. He moreover took advantage of the captivity, as we may term it, of the archduke, to get into his power a man of whom he had some apprehensions. This was Edmund de la Pole, younger brother of the Earl of Lincoln, who was slain at Stoke. On the death of his father, the Duke of Suffolk, Edmund claimed the title and estates; but Henry would only give him (and that as a boon) the title of earl, and a small part of the property. When he afterward had the misfortune to kill a man in a fit of anger, the king granted him a pardon, but commanded him to plead it openly in the Court of King's Bench. Suf-

* Henry did not receive the title of Prince of Wales for some months after Arthur's death.

folk's pride was wounded ; and he retired to his aunt, the Duchess of Burgundy. Henry, however, induced him to return, and he was present at the marriage of Prince Arthur ; on which occasion the splendour of his equipages and other expenses involved him deeply in debt. Soon after he went away again ; and the king, then suspecting a conspiracy, directed Sir Robert Curson, captain of the castle of Hammes, near Calais, to pretend to desert to him, and, if possible, to learn his secrets. On the information sent by Curson, the king arrested his own brother-in-law the Earl of Devon, Suffolk's brother William, Sir James Tyrrel, Sir William Windham, and some others. The first two, against whom there was no charge but their kindred to Suffolk, were detained in prison ; and the last two were executed for having aided the king's enemy in 1502.* This crushed the conspiracy, if, indeed, there was one ; and Suffolk was now living in penury, in the archduke's dominions.

One day Henry drew the archduke into a private room, and, laying his hand on his arm, said, " Sir, you have been saved upon my coast, I hope you will not suffer me to wreck upon yours." Philip asked him what he meant. " I mean by it," said he, " that same harebrain wild fellow, my subject, the Earl of Suffolk, who is protected in your country, and begins to play the fool when all others are weary of it." " I had thought, sir," replied Philip, " your felicity had been above these thoughts ; but, if it trouble you, I will banish him." " These hornets," said the king, " are best in their nests, and worst when they do fly abroad ; my desire is to have him delivered to me." Philip mused, and said, " That can I not do with my honour, and less with yours ; for you will be thought to have used me as a prisoner." " Then," cried Henry, " the matter is at an end ; for I will take that dishonour upon me, and so your honour is saved." It was finally agreed that Suffolk should be induced to surrender, the king pledging himself not to touch his

* It was on this occasion that Tyrrel confessed the murder of the two princes in the Tower.

life. He came, therefore, and was committed to the Tower, and Philip then departed.

The king's avarice naturally increased with his years; and he scrupled at no means of extorting money from his subjects. His chief agents were two able but unprincipled lawyers, Edmund Dudley and Richard Empson: the former a man of good family, the latter the son of a sievemaking. These men, whom he made barons of the exchequer, by reviving dormant claims of the crown, by taking advantage of various ancient and nearly obsolete statutes, which had created numberless offences punishable by fine, etc., and other modes, and by encouraging a host of informers, drew large sums into the royal coffers, and, at the same time, enriched themselves enormously; while, with the king, they drew upon themselves the maledictions of all classes of the people.

If we may credit the following story, the king himself equalled his agents in the art of taking advantage of the letter of the law, without regard either to good feeling or justice. He was once entertained by the Earl of Oxford, a man who had always been active and zealous in his cause. As he was departing from the castle, the earl's servants and retainers, dressed in his liveries, stood drawn up in two ranks to do the monarch honour. "My lord," said the king, "I have heard much of your hospitality, but it is greater than the speech. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen that I see on each side of me are surely your menial servants." "That, may it please your grace," replied the earl, "were not for mine ease: they are most of them my retainers, come to do me service at a time like this, and chiefly to see your grace." Henry gave a start. "By my faith, my lord," said he, "I thank you for your good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." An act had been passed against this practice in the beginning of his reign; and the earl had to pay a fine of £10,000 (\$48,000) for having thus honoured his king.*

* Such was the extent and success of the rapacity of this monarch.
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Henry had been for some time subject to the gout : every year the attacks became more severe, and he was finally carried off by one of them, on the 22d of April, 1509, in the fifty-third year of his age. On his deathbed he desired his son to put the Earl of Suffolk to death ; and also, it is said, charged him not to marry his brother's widow. He forgave all offences against the crown, except murder and felony ; and directed that reparation should be made to all who had suffered by the injustice of his ministers. His remains were deposited in the splendid chapel founded by himself at Westminster Abbey, which still remains, a noble monument of the king's munificence, and of the taste and skill of those times in architecture.

Henry VII. was personally brave, but he was a lover of peace. He was sagacious and circumspect, and could conceal his own designs while he penetrated those of others. He was by nature distrustful, and appears to have been nearly incapable of friendship, or any strong attachment. His clemency to rebels on various occasions shows him not to have been of a cruel or sanguinary temper ; while his murder of the Earl of Warwick proves that he could even shed innocent blood out of policy. But the great blemish of his character was avarice. This low and grovelling passion tinged all his acts, led him to commit numerous deeds of oppression, and caused him to leave the world laden with the maledictions of his people. From the charge of studied neglect of his queen we think he has been cleared :* he seems to have treated her with as much affection as it was in his nature to show to any woman, perhaps with as much as she deserved, when we consider her indecent haste to marry her uncle, the murderer of her brothers.†

arch, that he is said to have amassed in his private coffers, at the time of his death, the enormous sum of 1,800,000*l.*, equivalent to 16,000,000*l.* (\$76,800,000) at the present day. Like a true miser, he hid his treasures in secret places, and kept them under his own lock and key.—*Am. Ed.*

* See Lingard, v., 327.

† The character of this monarch, drawn by one of the most dis-

The two following important statutes were passed in this reign :

The statute of fines (4 Hen. VII.) was a re-enactment of one of Richard III. Its object was, by establishing a short term of prescription, to check suits for the recovery of lands ; but it has been erroneously supposed to have been the result of a deep-laid scheme of Henry for humbling the aristocracy, by enabling them to alienate their lands. The statute of entails, or *de donis* (of gifts) of Edward I., had already been, in a great measure, rendered null by the legal artifice of suffering a recovery ; and all that the present statute did, was to enact that a fine, levied with proclamation in a court of justice, should after five years be a bar to all claims on lands.

The other statute (11 Hen. VII.) was one well

criminating and philosophical of historians, is no less able than just. " No generosity lent lustre to his purposes ; no tenderness softened his rigid nature. We hear nothing of any appearance of affection but that towards his mother, which it would be unnatural to treat as deserving praise, and which in him savoured more of austere duty than of an easy, delightful, and almost universal sentiment. His good qualities were useful but low ; his vices were mean ; and no person in history of so much understanding and courage is so near being despised. He was a man of shrewd discernment, but of a mean spirit and a contracted mind. His love of peace, if it had flowed from a purer source, would justly merit the highest praise as one of the most important virtues of a ruler : but in Henry it is deeply tinged by the mere preference of craft to force, which characterizes his whole policy. In a word, he had no dispositions for which he could be admired or loved as a man. But he was not without some of the most essential of those qualities which preserve a ruler from contempt, and, in general, best secure him against peril : activity, perseverance, foresight, vigilance, boldness, both martial and civil, conjoined with a wariness seldom blended with the more active qualities, eminently distinguished his unamiable but commanding character.

" His religion, as far as we are informed, never calmed an angry passion, nor withheld him from a profitable wrong. He seems to have chosen it chiefly in the superstitious fears which haunted his deathbed, when he made a feeble attempt to make amends for irreparable rapine by restoring what he could no longer enjoy, and struggled to hurry through the formalities of a compromise with the justice of Heaven for his misdeeds."—Mackintosh's *History of England*, ii., 94, Harpers' edition.—*Am. Ed.*

adapted to times in which the succession to the throne was so frequently disputed; and was intended to obviate, to a certain extent, the distinction between a government *de jure* (of right) and one *de facto* (of fact), which is of so mischievous a nature. It enacted that no one should be punished for doing true and faithful service to the king for the time being.

By another act (3 Hen. VII.) a court was appointed, which was the germe of the future Star Chamber. To check the practice of maintenance and other obstructions of justice, the chancellor, treasurer, keeper of the privy seal, or any two of them, with a bishop and a lay lord of the council, and the two chief justices, were empowered to call before them, and punish by fine and imprisonment, persons guilty of those offences.

The New World was discovered by Columbus during the reign of Henry VII. The British monarch, anxious to share in the advantages of this great event, commissioned Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian settled at Bristol, to fit out vessels for discovery and conquest in the lands beyond the western ocean. Cabot, in 1497, discovered the coast of North America, from Labrador to the Gulf of Florida.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY VIII.*

1509-1526.

Execution of Empson and Dudley. — War with France; with Scotland. — Battle of Flodden. — Wolsey. — The Field of the Cloth of Gold. — Execution of the Duke of Buckingham. — Wolsey deceived by the Emperor.

THE new monarch was just eighteen years of age, handsome in person, and popular in manners. The

* Authorities: Polydore Virgil, Herbert, Hall, Stowe, and the other chroniclers.

claims of the White and Red Roses were united in him, so that all chances of a disputed title were removed. The unpopularity of the late king, through his avarice, made men look with joyful anticipation to the reign of a young and gallant prince; and the treasures amassed by that avarice enabled him to fulfil these expectations.

Acting under the advice of his grandmother, the venerable Countess of Richmond, Henry retained all his father's faithful and experienced ministers. His next care was to celebrate his marriage with the Princess Catharine, which the crafty, interested policy of their fathers had hitherto held in suspense. The ceremony was performed on the 24th of June, two months after his accession; and their joint coronation immediately succeeded. For two years pleasure and amusement formed the sole occupation of the court of England. The king, who excelled in martial exercises, loved to display his address and vigour before his consort, her ladies, the nobility, and the foreign ambassadors; and he frequently fought at barriers, and gained the prize in their presence.

On the very day of his accession, to gratify the people, Henry had ordered Empson, Dudley, and their chief agents or *promoters*, as they were termed, to be arrested. The latter were pilloried, and then led on horseback through the city, with their faces to the horses' tails, and finally imprisoned for different terms. The former were charged before the council with having usurped the authority of the courts of law, kept heirs out of their lands, etc. Empson made an ingenious and eloquent defence; and these charges not proving tenable, and it being resolved not to let them escape, an absurd accusation of a design to secure the person of the young king on the death of his father, and make themselves masters of the government, was brought against them. On this, which every one must have known to be false, juries readily found them guilty. They were respited, however, and might, perhaps, have been suffered to linger out their lives in prison; but the king was so harassed with complaints

against them in his progress the following summer, 1510, that he signed the warrant for their execution, and they suffered on Tower Hill.

Our restricted limits will on this and on future occasions prevent our entering into details on the affairs of the Continent, in which England now began for the first time to take a part. A very slight sketch of them must therefore suffice at present. The great scene of political contention at this period was Italy, where the republics, with the exception of Venice and Genoa, had, after their brilliant but unquiet career, sunk under the despotism of petty princes. These little potentates, by their marriages and alliances with the transalpine royal houses, had caused the latter to have claims on various parts of Italy. Thus Charles VIII of France, and Ferdinand of Aragon, had obtained a pretext for making the conquest of Naples, from which the latter afterward expelled the former; and Louis XII. of France had lately, in right of his mother, made himself master of the duchy of Milan. The emperor of Germany had a claim of feudal superiority over the different Italian states; while the valiant and turbulent, yet perhaps patriotic pontiff, Julius II., sought only to extend the papal dominions, to humble the pride of the Venetians, and then to drive the *Barbarians* (as the Italians styled the transalpine nations) out of Italy. The League of Cambray, formed in 1508, in which the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Spain united against the Venetians, sufficed to humble their haughty aristocracy before the pontiff; but it gave occasion to hostilities between him and the King of France. Ferdinand, and, at his desire, his son-in-law of England, took the side of the pontiff; which party was also, after some hesitation, embraced by the Emperor Maximilian.

Ferdinand, who never felt a generous sentiment, and thought only of his own interests, proposed to his son-in-law a joint invasion of Guienne, to which Henry now asserted his right. The Spanish monarch's real object, however, as will appear, was the acquisition of the small kingdom of Navarre, held, in right of his wife, by John d'Albret, lord of Béarn, a vassal

of the crown of France. It was agreed that Henry should send a force of six thousand five hundred men, and Ferdinand one of nine thousand ; while a fleet, to be furnished in equal proportions, should keep the sea. Accordingly, in the month of June, 1512, the Marquis of Dorset landed with the English army in Guipuscoa ; while a fleet under the lord admiral, Sir Edward Howard, cruised all the summer in the Bay of Biscay. Dorset proposed marching at once against Bayonne ; but Ferdinand pretended that it was not safe to leave Navarre in their rear. A joint embassy was then sent to the King of Navarre, to demand his neutrality. To this he agreed ; but Ferdinand, affecting to distrust him, required the surrender of his fortresses. This being refused, the Duke of Alva entered Navarre, and laid siege to Pampeluna, its capital, which was speedily reduced. The whole kingdom then submitted, and the king was obliged to seek a refuge in France. The Spanish general then called on Dorset to join in the invasion of Guienne ; but the latter was now grown mistrustful ; his troops were suffering from disease ; a spirit of mutiny had spread among them ; they demanded to be sent home ; and though, at the desire of the Spanish envoy, a herald was sent out with orders for them to remain, they obliged their leaders to embark, and they landed at Portsmouth in December. Henry was at first greatly displeased, but he was at length satisfied with the explanations of the marquis.

While the army was lying thus inactive in Spain, Sir Edward Howard made frequent descents on the coast of Brittany. At length, on the 12th of August, he fell in with the French fleet of twenty sail, commanded by Admiral Primauguet. Sir Charles Brandon, without waiting for orders, bore down on the admiral's ship, the Cordelier of Brest. As this last was of great size, carrying a crew of sixteen hundred men, her fire quickly dismasted the English vessel, to whose aid Sir Thomas Knyvett hastened with the Regent, the largest ship in the English navy. The combat had lasted for more than an hour, when another ship

came to the assistance of Knyvett. Primauguet then, to save the honour of his flag, set fire to the *Corde-lier*; and the flames spreading to the *Regent*, both vessels were consumed, and all on board of them perished. The rest of the French fleet escaped into Brest. Sir Edward Howard then made a vow never to see the face of the king till he had avenged the death of Sir Thomas Knyvett. A still larger ship, named the *Henry Grace Dieu*, was built to replace the *Regent*. The following year, on the 25th of April, Sir Edward Howard (whose maxim was that a seaman, to be good for anything, should be brave even to madness), while blockading Brest, attempted, with two galleys and four boats, to cut out a squadron of six galleys, moored in a bay between rocks planted with cannon. Followed by no more than eighteen men, he leaped on board the largest vessel; but his own galley chancing to fall astern, he and his companions were left alone; and the crew with their pikes pushed them overboard, and they were drowned. The English fleet retired; and the French, in return, insulted the coast of Sussex, till Sir Thomas Howard, who had succeeded his brother, chased them into Brest.

The king had now collected a gallant army of twenty-five thousand men for the invasion of France. Two divisions sailed under the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Lord Herbert; and Henry himself followed on the 30th of June with the third, leaving the queen "rectrix and governor of the realm," and having previously given orders for the execution of the Earl of Suffolk, who lay in the Tower. We have seen that the late king had enjoined him to rid himself of this nobleman if he would be safe; and, as Suffolk's brother had been so imprudent as to take a command in the French army, and assume the title of the White Rose, the wrath of the king may have been thus excited against the unhappy prisoner. The envoys at foreign courts were instructed to declare that a traitorous correspondence between the brothers had been discovered.

The king loitered for some weeks at Calais, spending his time in festivity, while his generals invested the city of Terouenne. At length, on the 4th of August, he entered the camp, where he was joined by the Emperor Maximilian with four thousand horse; and this monarch, so high in dignity, to flatter the vanity of his young ally, styled himself his volunteer, wore the red rose and St. George's cross, and accepted one hundred crowns a day as his pay. The French king had, on his part, advanced as far as Amiens for the relief of Terouenne. On the 16th of August he mustered his cavalry, so renowned in the wars of Italy, at Blangi; and it advanced in two divisions on the opposite banks of the river Lis. Maximilian led out his German horse and the English mounted archers, while Henry followed with the infantry. A sudden panic seized the French; they turned, though greatly superior in numbers, and fled without striking a blow, leaving prisoners in the hands of the enemy their commander the Duke de Longueville, Bussi d'Amboise, the Chevalier Bayard, Clermont, Lafayette, and several other men of distinction. This rout was named the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it occurred; but more usually that of Spurs, as the French made greater use of their spurs than of their swords. Terouenne now surrendered; and the English army then advanced and laid siege to Tournai, which opened its gates on the eighth day, the 29th of September; and Henry, having devoted some days to festivity, returned to England for the winter.

Though the King of Scotland was Henry's brother-in-law, he shared, to the misfortune of himself and kingdom, in the war against him. The union between the two British sovereigns had never been cordial: James had in vain demanded the jewels left by will to his queen by her late father; to as little purpose had he required that the bastard, Heron of Ford, should be tried for the murder of Sir Robert Ker, warden of the Scottish marches; and, with far less justice, he insisted on satisfaction for the death of Andrew Barton; for, having granted letters of reprisal

against the Portuguese to three brothers of this name, they took not merely Portuguese but English ships, under pretence of their carrying Portuguese property. On the repeated complaints of his subjects, Henry pronounced the Bartons pirates, and two of their ships were captured in the Downs; on which occasion Andrew Barton received a wound of which he died. To James's demand of satisfaction, Henry scornfully replied, that the fate of a pirate was beneath the notice of kings, and the matter might be settled by commissioners on the borders. When Henry joined in the league against Louis, the latter sought earnestly to gain the Scottish king, to whom he sent many large sums of money; while his queen, Anne of Britany, named James her knight, and sent him a ring from her own finger. The English envoys, on the other hand, required him to remain neutral. Much diplomatic finesse, seasoned with the usual proportion of falsehood and insincerity, was employed on all sides; but, when James found that the English had actually invaded France, he summoned his vassals to meet them at the Burrow Moor, and sent his fleet, with a force of three thousand men, to the aid of Louis. At the head of a numerous army, the King of Scotland then, on the 22d of August, crossed the Tweed, near its confluence with the Till; and, turning northward, laid siege to the Castle of Norham, which held out for six days against him. It then surrendered; and its example was followed by the castles of Wark, Etall, and Ford. The Scots crossed the Till, and on the 6th of September encamped on the hill of Flodden, the last of the Cheviot range, bordering on the dale of the Tweed.

The Earl of Surrey, to whom Henry had committed the Scottish war, was at Pontefract when James crossed the Tweed. He had summoned the gentry of the north to meet him at Newcastle; and, when they repaired to his standard, his forces amounted to twenty-six thousand men. He then advanced at their head to Wooler-haugh, within five miles of the enemy. When he saw their position, fortified by nature on all

sides but one, and that defended by cannon, he feared to attack ; and, sending a herald to James, required him to descend into the plain, and engage on equal terms. The monarch refused. Surrey then, by the advice of his son, the lord-admiral, resolved to march towards Scotland, and then return, and take the enemy in the rear. The English therefore crossed the Till in two divisions, a van and rearguard, the former led by the admiral, the latter by Surrey in person ; and they marched till evening up its right bank. At sunrise the next morning, they crossed the river by the bridge of Twissel, and, going down the left bank, approached the Scottish camp. James, who now saw their object, ordered his men to fire their huts and retire to the hill of Brankston, more to the north. The smoke filled the entire valley ; and, when it cleared away, the vanguard of the English found themselves at the foot of the hill, on which the Scots were posted in five solid masses. They halted till the rearguard came up, and both then advanced in one line, while the Scots began to descend in good order and in perfect silence.

The right wing of the English vanguard was assailed by a body of Scottish spearmen under the Lord Home. It gave way ; and its leader, Lord Edmund Howard, was unhorsed, and lay on the ground expecting to be slain or taken, when the bastard Heron came with a body of outlaws and restored the battle ; and the Lord Dacre, with a reserve of fifteen hundred men, took the Scots in the rear and put them to flight. A body of seven thousand Scots, under the earls of Huntley, Errol, and Crawford, was in the mean time hotly engaged with the remainder of the English vanguard ; till, after an obstinate and bloody conflict, Errol and Crawford fell, and their men broke and fled. The king in person, followed by a numerous body of gallant warriors cased in armour, assailed the rearguard ; and, bearing down all resistance, had nearly reached the royal standard, when Sir Edward Stanley, who had defeated and chased over the hill the earls of Lennox and Argyle who were opposed to him, return-

ed and took the body led by the king in the rear. James was slain by an unknown hand, within a spear's length of Surrey. The battle, which began after four in the evening, lasted but an hour. The approach of night and the want of cavalry caused the pursuit not to exceed four miles. The loss of the Scots was ten thousand men, among whom were their king, his natural son the Archbishop of St. Andrews, two bishops, two abbots, twelve earls, thirteen barons, and fifty gentlemen of distinction. The body of the Scottish king was conveyed to London, to be there interred. To reward the victors, Surrey was created Duke of Norfolk; his son, Earl of Surrey; Brandon, Lord Lisle, duke of Suffolk; Lord Herbert, Earl of Somerset; and Sir Edward Stanley, Lord Mounteagle.

When the Scots had recovered a little from the consternation caused by this calamitous defeat, they proceeded to regulate the affairs of the realm. The queen was allowed to retain the regency, as guardian to her infant son James V.; but when, shortly after the birth of her second son, who was born after her husband's death, she gave her hand to the Earl of Angus, a young nobleman who had little but his personal beauty to recommend him, the regency was transferred to the Duke of Albany. A deputation was sent to France, where he resided, to invite him over; and, though Henry obtained from the French government a solemn promise that he should not be permitted to depart, he made his way to Scotland in 1515, and assumed the royal authority. When he learned that Henry was tampering with the queen to bring her children to England, he besieged her in the Castle of Stirling, and forced her to surrender the two princes.

To return to Continental affairs. While Henry, during the winter, was making every preparation for renewing the war with vigour in the spring, Louis was no less strenuous in his exertions to procure a general peace. The pontiff Leo X., a lover of pleasure rather than of war, was easily propitiated; the permission to retain Navarre rapidly infused pacific notions into the mind of Ferdinand; and even Max-

imilian listened readily to a proposal for the marriage of a daughter of Louis, with Milan for her portion, to his grandson Charles, though this prince was already engaged to the Princess Mary, sister of the King of England. Louis lost no time in making Henry aware of this arrangement, which at first he could hardly credit. When, however, he could no longer doubt it, he began to lend an ear to proposals for peace; and Louis's queen happening to die at this time, he offered his hand to Henry's sister Mary. Though Louis was then fifty-three years old, and the princess but sixteen, and her affections, moreover, were engaged to the accomplished Duke of Suffolk, she was induced to give her consent. The marriage was celebrated by proxy at Greenwich and at Paris. The young queen was then conducted to Abbeville by the Duke of Norfolk, where Louis met her, and the ceremony was renewed in the cathedral on the 9th of October. The next day, to the grief and surprise of the bride, all the English attendants, except Norfolk's niece Anne Boleyn, a child but seven years old, and two others, were ordered home. Louis then conducted her to St. Denis, where she was crowned; but, on the 1st of January, 1515, he died, and in less than three months the bride became a widow.

Louis was succeeded by Francis, count of Angoulême, the next male heir. The new monarch was naturally anxious that Mary should not espouse the Archduke Charles. As Suffolk was at the head of the embassy sent by Henry to convey her back to England, Francis, who knew of his love, urged him to seek her hand at once; and Mary herself gave him a challenge, by asking him if he had now the courage to marry her at once, fixing the day by which he must resolve to marry her or lose her for ever. Suffolk accepted the challenge, and they were privately married in the month of March. Francis communicated the affair to Henry, interceding for the lovers; and Mary wrote, taking the whole blame on herself. Henry was, or affected to be, extremely angry, but at length relented and forgave them. Perhaps he was

aware of the whole from the very commencement, as Suffolk had written to the favourite Wolsey in order to sound the king's disposition.* Indeed, from his fixing on Suffolk to convey his sister to England, and from the whole progress of the affair, it is not unlikely that Henry, who was far from being devoid of generosity, may have secretly wished to promote the union of the lovers, whom he ever after treated with the greatest affection.

It was about this time that the great power and influence of Wolsey attained their height; and, during fifteen years, he ruled the kingdom with a power nearly dictatorial. We will therefore sketch his history and character.

Thomas Wolsey, the son, as it was said, of a butcher at Ipswich, having received a learned education, entered the church. He became tutor in the family of the Marquis of Dorset, who, pleased with his talents, recommended him to Henry VII., by whom he was made one of the royal chaplains. The king employed him in a secret negotiation respecting his marriage with Margaret of Savoy; and was so pleased with his conduct in it, that he bestowed on him the deanery of Lincoln.† Soon after the accession of Henry VIII., Wolsey was made almoner,‡ a situation which brought him into constant intercourse with the king; and the polish and gayety of the new almoner's manners, and the readiness with which, though in orders, and nearly forty years of age, he entered into the royal pleasures (even, it is said, singing, dancing, and carousing with the youthful courtiers), quickly won him the heart of Henry, who was also aware of his talents for business, and delighted with his skill in

* On a subsequent occasion, Wolsey told Suffolk that, if it had not been for *him*, he would have lost his head.

† Wolsey used such extraordinary despatch, and was so favoured by circumstances, that, quitting the king at Richmond at noon, he went to Brussels, arranged all matters with the emperor, and was back at Richmond by the night of the third day. (Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, p. 10-14.)

‡ An officer in the king's household, whose duty it was to distribute the royal charities or alms.—*Am. Ed.*

the theology of the schools. Preferments rapidly flowed in upon him. On the taking of Tournai he was made bishop of that see ; he then became Dean of York, next Bishop of Lincoln, and finally Archbishop of York, within the one year, 1514. He was now courted by foreign princes : even the pope, to secure his influence, sent him a cardinal's hat in 1515 ; and the same year, on the resignation of Archbishop Warham, the king conferred on him the office of chancellor. The pontiff finally, in 1518, invested him with the dignity of papal legate, and his ambitious mind now aspired even to the papacy itself.

The wealth of Wolsey was enormous. Besides his archbishopric, he farmed the revenues of the sees of Hereford and Worcester, which were held by foreigners ; and held *in commendam** the abbey of St. Alban's and the see of Bath, which he afterward exchanged for that of Durham, and this again for the more wealthy see of Winchester. His legatine court and the chancery brought him in large emoluments ; and he had pensions from the pope, the emperor, and the King of France. Bound to celibacy by his order, and profuse and vain by nature, he hoarded not his wealth, but lived in a style of princely magnificence, and barons and knights were among the officers of his household. Palaces, abbeys, and colleges rose or were enlarged by his munificence, and the learned men of all countries tasted of his bounty. At the same time, in his office of chancellor he was just and upright, and his improvements in the administration of justice entitled him to the gratitude of the people.

England was now in tranquillity, both externally and internally. The King of France had recovered the Milanese ; and on the death of the Emperor Maximilian, in 1519, he and Henry, and the late emperor's grandson Charles, who had already succeeded his maternal grandsire Ferdinand in his dominion over Spain, Naples, and the New World, became candidates for the vacant dignity. The contest in reality

* In trust.

lay between Francis and Charles; and the decision of the electors in favour of the latter, laid the foundation of a lasting enmity between the two monarchs. Each was solicitous to gain to his side the King of England and his powerful favourite. Francis, in reliance on his own address and powers of persuasion, eagerly desired a personal interview. He therefore, in 1520, summoned Henry to perform an article in the last treaty between them, by which it was stipulated that they should meet in person on the borders of their dominions. Henry, acting under the influence of the Spanish cabinet, sought to evade compliance; but Francis was too adroit for him; and the arrangements being committed by both monarchs to Wolsey, he appointed an interview to take place on the last day of May, between Ardres and Guisnes, within the English territory; when it was arranged that a tournament should be held, in which the kings of France and England, each with eighteen companions, should answer all opponents at tilt, tourney, and barriers.

Henry and his court set out for Calais on the 21st of May. On reaching Canterbury, he learned that the emperor, with a squadron of ships, had cast anchor at Hythe; for Charles, in consequence (as he pretended) of most urgent affairs, being on his way from Spain to the Netherlands, and hearing, as he came up the channel, that the English court was so near the coast, could not, he said, omit the opportunity of paying his respects to his uncle and aunt. He came to court and remained for four days, during which short time he completely gained the affections of Henry; and he also secured the interest of Wolsey, by assurances of the papacy on the next vacancy. On the very day of his departure, the 31st, the king and court of England passed over to Calais.

A temporary palace of framework, which had been sent out from England, had been erected near the castle of Guisnes. It contained a stately chapel and numerous apartments, whose walls were hung with tapestry and the ceilings covered with silk. A similar edifice had been erected for Francis near the town of

Ardres. When the two monarchs had arrived at their respective pavilions, Wolsey visited Francis; and an additional treaty for the marriage of the dauphin with Henry's only child Mary was concluded, Francis binding the crown of France to the payment of one hundred thousand crowns a year to that of England, in case of their issue being seated on the English throne. When this arrangement had been completed, the two monarchs, on the 7th of June, rode to the vale of Andern, within the territory of Guisnes; and, while their attendants halted on the opposite eminences, they passed down into the valley, met and embraced, and then walked arm in arm into a pavilion which had been prepared for their reception, where they held a secret conference on the late treaty.

Serious business being now at an end, the martial exercises began. During six days, the kings tilted with spears against all comers; the tourney with the broadsword on horseback occupied two more; and, on the concluding day, they fought on foot at barriers. The queens and their ladies looked on from their galleries and awarded the prizes; and, whether it were owing to their own superior skill and prowess, or to the flattering courtesy of their opponents, the monarchs were invariably the winners. The heralds duly registered the names, arms, and feats of the knights. The French and English nobles, like their sovereigns, vied with each other in the display of magnificence on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, as the place of meeting was romantically styled; and debts were incurred which the frugality of a whole life proved in many cases insufficient to clear off.*

Yet, amid all the gayety and courtesy of the tournament, mutual distrust still prevailed. The number of guards and attendants on both sides was duly counted; when the kings would visit their respective queens, each set forth at the signal of the discharge

* "Many," says Bellay, "carried on their shoulders their mills, their forests, and their meadows."

of a culverin ; they passed each other at the middle spot ; and, at the moment Henry entered the French, Francis entered the English territory. At length Francis, open and generous by nature, grew disgusted with these precautions ; and, mounting his horse, he rode one morning with but three attendants to Guisnes, and, entering the chamber where Henry was in bed, told him he was his prisoner. Henry rose and embraced him ; and Francis, saying he should have no valet but himself, aided him to dress. Next day Henry returned the compliment ; yet, still dubious of treachery, he always disguised himself and his attendants on his return from Ardres. On the last day, June 24th, when Francis was on his return from taking leave of Queen Catharine, he met a body of maskers. Henry, who was one of them, discovered himself, and flung a collar of pearls, worth 15,000 angels (\$36,000), round the neck of Francis, who, in return, presented him with a costly bracelet. They then embraced, and bade each other farewell.

Thus ended this memorable but useless interview. Useless, since Henry forthwith visited the emperor at Gravelines ; and any impression made by the more generous Francis was quickly effaced by the arts of his young but calculating rival, who made Wolsey more than ever his own by renewed assurances of the papacy, and by giving him immediate possession of the revenues of three Spanish bishoprics. Charles, having conducted his uncle back to Calais, and spent three days with him there, returned to his own dominions.

The following year, 1521, an event occurred in England which cast the first serious stain on the hitherto comparatively blameless administration of Henry. Thomas Stafford, duke of Buckingham, son of him who was put to death by Richard III., was one of the wealthiest subjects in England, and was, moreover, of the blood royal, and held the distinguished office of lord-high-constable. It is said that he incurred the enmity of Wolsey by complaining of the great expense caused by the interview at Guisnes, and by laying the

blame on the cardinal. He had certainly, however, independent of this, excited the king's suspicions and jealousy by his imprudence.

Buckingham, possessed with the usual folly of desiring to pry into futurity, had formed an intimacy with one Hopkins, a Carthusian friar, who pretended to the gift of prophecy; and the lucky guesses of this man on one or two occasions had confirmed the duke's belief in his divining skill. Hopkins at times darkly intimated that Henry would leave no issue, and that great things were portended for Buckingham's son. What the effect of these hints may have been on the mind of the duke, cannot positively be said; but he augmented his household, and Sir William Bulmer, among others, quitted the king's service to enter into his. For this offence, Bulmer was brought before the Star Chamber just before the king went to France; and Henry, on pardoning him, used very enigmatical language respecting Buckingham. Some time after, the duke discharged a relation of his own, named Knevett, whom he had made his steward; and this man, out of revenge, went to Wolsey and revealed all he knew, with additions, as usual, of the projects of Buckingham. The duke was summoned to court from his seat in Gloucestershire. On his way, he observed that he was closely followed by three knights; at Windsor he met with insult; at York Place the cardinal refused to see him; and, as he proceeded down the river in his barge to Greenwich, he was arrested, and conveyed to the Tower. He was soon after arraigned for high treason before the Duke of Norfolk, lord-high-steward, and a jury of twenty-one peers. Knevett, Hopkins, and his confessor and chancellor, were examined as witnesses against him. He defended himself with eloquence and spirit; but, though the charges preferred against him did not amount to an overt act of treason, he was found guilty. The Duke of Norfolk, with tears, pronounced his sentence; while he replied with dignity, declaring his forgiveness of his enemies, and his resolution not to sue for mercy. He suffered on Tower Hill on the

17th of May, amid the lamentations of the people, who vented their rage on Wolsey, the supposed author of his death, by crying out "The butcher's son!"

Meanwhile the war had been renewed between Charles and Francis. Both parties, however, accepted the mediation of the King of England; and Wolsey, being appointed arbitrator, repaired to Calais to endeavour to effect a peace. His commission, however, ended, as perhaps it was intended to do, in a league between the pope, the emperor, and the King of England against France. Henry's daughter, the Princess Mary, was engaged to the emperor, and the allies were simultaneously to invade France the following spring. The vacancy of the papal throne, by the sudden death of Leo, on the 1st of December, now raised Wolsey's hopes to their height. His own sovereign favoured his aspirations; the emperor was bound to him by obligations and promises; and he possessed in abundance that which was omnipotent at Rome, money: still the duplicity of the emperor, the jealousy of the French cardinals, or the arts of the Cardinal Julio de' Medici, foiled all his projects; and the choice of the sacred college fell upon Adrian of Utrecht, the emperor's tutor. As, however, the new pontiff was advanced in years, Wolsey readily listened to the excuses and the renewed promises of Charles, who, on his way back to Spain, landed at Dover on the 25th of May, 1522, and passed five weeks at the English court.

As the invasion of France had been arranged at this interview, the Earl of Surrey passed over in the autumn to Calais, with twelve thousand men of paid troops, and four thousand volunteers; and, being joined by one thousand German and Spanish horse, made an inroad into the French territory on the 31st of August. He wasted and plundered the country as far as Amiens; but as the French would, as usual, give no opportunity of fighting, and a dysentery broke out among his troops, he was obliged to lead them back to Calais on the 16th of October. The Scottish regent, in the mean time, at the impulse of Francis, as

the truce was expired, assembled an army of eighty thousand men for the invasion of England; but, deceived and terrified by the vaunts of Lord Dacre, warden of the western marches, who menaced him with an army which actually did not exist, he disbanded his forces. The following year, 1523, Surrey entered Scotland, and burned the town of Jedburgh; while the regent assembled a force of sixty thousand men on the Burrow Moor, and soon after, on the 1st of November, formed the siege of Wark. Surrey, whose forces had been increased from nine to fifty thousand, advanced to give him battle; but the Scottish army decamped at midnight, and recrossed the borders. Albany soon after left Scotland, never to return. The scandalous familiarity of Queen Margaret with the son of Lord Evandale alienated her friends; and her husband, the Earl of Angus, assumed the regency under the protection of Henry; and, for eighteen years, tranquillity prevailed on the borders.

Again Wolsey was doomed to meet with disappointment in his suit for the papacy. On the death of Adrian, on the 14th of September, Henry called on Charles to perform his engagements to the cardinal; the English minister at Rome was directed to spare neither money nor promises; some members of the sacred college even were gained; but the same causes operated against him as before; and, by one of the manœuvres familiar to the conclave, the election fell on Julio de' Medici, the nephew of Leo X., who took the name of Clement VII. Wolsey was at length fully convinced of the insincerity of the emperor, for the papal throne was now occupied by a man much younger than himself. Dismissing, therefore, all his dreams of ambition, he began to think of the true interests of England; secret negotiations were entered into with the King of France; and when the defeat at Pavia, in 1525, had placed that monarch a captive in the hands of the emperor, Henry hastened to conclude an alliance, offensive and defensive, between the crowns of France and England. The following year the match between the emperor and the Princess of Wales was

broken off; and a marriage between her and Francis himself or his son, the Duke of Orleans, was proposed. His domestic affairs, however, now began to occupy the attention of Henry; and, as they were productive of most important results, we must devote ourselves for some time to them exclusively.

It is perhaps at this point that modern history properly commences. The different European states had now assumed their permanent form, in which they were to enter into more intimate relations of war and peace than under the loose and unsteady political combinations of the middle ages. It was also at this time that the great religious schism commenced, which, for the space of more than a century, was to give a religious character to wars which fanaticism, ambition, and policy combined to kindle.

In France, the various great fiefs, such as Burgundy and Brittany, had been in sundry ways reunited to the crown; and the French monarch ruled with absolute dominion from the British Channel to the Mediterranean and the Pyrenees. The Spanish peninsula (with the exception of Portugal) now also obeyed one head: for the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabel had united the crowns of Aragon and Castile, and their arms had reduced the Moorish kingdom of Grenada in the south, and the small, independent state of Navarre in the north of the peninsula. Ferdinand had also acquired the kingdom of Naples in Italy. The conquest of the empires of Mexico and Peru in the New World, and the mines of the precious metals there discovered, had greatly augmented the power of Spain. Its present monarch was also sovereign of the wealthy and industrious provinces of the Netherlands in right of his father; and the votes of the German electors had placed him at the head of the empire. No monarch since Charlemagne had ruled over such extensive dominions.

England, the next state in importance, had not yet attained her full measure of strength. Though secured against sudden invasion by her insular position,

she had in Scotland a domestic foe always influenced by France ; and her dominion over the turbulent natives of Ireland, and her little less turbulent colonists in that island, was scarcely more than nominal.

The states of Italy, under the rule of their petty tyrants, had sunk into insignificance. Naples had been conquered by Spain, and Venice had already begun to decline, in consequence of the new route to the East Indies discovered by the Portuguese, and the consequent diversion to the port of Lisbon of the greater part of the lucrative traffic of which Venice had long enjoyed a monopoly. At this time, also, the Ottoman empire, by the conquest of Syria and Egypt, had nearly acquired its greatest extent. The northern kingdoms and Poland did not yet enter into the European system, and Russia remained apart in Asiatic barbarism.

The press, that mighty power for good or for evil, was now in active operation. Towards the middle of the last century the art of printing was discovered in Germany ; many of the classics of Greece and Rome had, by means of it, been made accessible to greater numbers of readers, and it furnished men with a more ready mode of communicating their ideas. While classical literature flourished in Italy, theology was more cultivated north of the Alps ; and the Reformation, which had long been in progress, at length broke forth with resistless force ; and a considerable portion of Europe, hitherto in vassalage to Rome, flung off its mental chains, and rushed into the enjoyment of spiritual liberty. That all was pure, noble, and blameless in this great revolution, no man will assert who knows what human nature is ; but, in great political and religious changes, all that should rationally be expected is, that the good attained should outweigh the evil necessarily introduced in its train ; and that the new condition of things should tend more to the production of social happiness than that which had preceded it. The Reformation, tried by this equitable standard, will, we venture to assert, be found to have been eminently conducive to the melioration and social ad-

vancement of the human race ; and is, therefore, justly to be numbered among the most important and glorious events which history records.

CHAPTER III.

HENRY VIII. (CONTINUED).*

1527-1535.

The Reformation.—Luther.—Henry writes against him.—Origin of Henry's Divorce.—Anne Boleyn.—Progress of the Divorce.—Cranmer.—Fall of Wolsey ; his Death.—Opinions of Universities.—Cromwell.—Cranmer made Primate.—Henry marries Anne Boleyn.—The Holy Maid of Kent.—Execution of Bishop Fisher ; of Sir T. More ; his Character.

THE Reformation marks one of the most important eras in the history of mankind ; and, as it speedily extended to England, and there produced its best fruits, we will here give a sketch of its commencement, and a slight account of the early life of the man who was the great agent in emancipating the human mind.

Among the mighty plans of Pope Julius II. was one for erecting at Rome a magnificent temple in honour of the apostle from whom the popes assume to derive their authority. When Leo X., of the tasteful family of the Medici, ascended the papal throne, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, his ambition incited him to continue and complete this noble edifice. But his generosity and extravagance had nearly drained the papal treasury ; and, without any scruple, he had recourse to the old practice of selling indulgences. The Archbishop of Mentz was the person selected for managing this shameful traffic in Germany ; and this prelate chose, as his principal agent, a Dominican friar named Tetzl, who filled the office of inquisitor. Tetz-

* Authorities : Polydore Virgil, Herbert, Godwin, Halle, and the other chroniclers, Burnet, Strype, &c. See Appendix (F).

el, who had been already similarly employed, selected suitable assistants from among the brethren of his own order; and soon, from press and pulpit, streamed forth torrents of declamation on the pains of purgatory, and the sovereign power of indulgences for the remission of sins, past, present, and to come, however deep might be their dye.* The simple Germans gladly purchased the remission of their own sins, and those of their deceased kindred, then languishing, as they were taught to believe, in purgatory. The percentage allowed to Tetzel and his brethren was therefore very considerable. His ill fortune, however, at length led him to the neighbourhood of the newly-founded University of Wittemberg in Saxony; and here Providence had prepared an overthrow, not merely for indulgences, but for the whole system with which they were connected.

The professor of theology at this time at Wittemberg was Dr. Martin Luther. This extraordinary man was born at Eisleben, in the province of Mansfeldt, in the year 1483. His father, who was engaged in the mines of that country, gave him a good education, intending him for the study of the civil law. He had made some progress in this science, when an accident changed the whole current of his thoughts and of his future life. As he was walking alone one day in the fields, there came on a dreadful storm of lightning and thunder, and, in his terror, he flung himself on the ground, and made a vow to enter a monastery if he escaped.† This vow he firmly kept, notwithstanding the grief and entreaties of his parents; and became an Augustinian friar in the year 1505. Two years after, he found by chance, in the library of his convent, a Latin Bible;‡ and thus, to his surprise, discovered that

* This shameless and blasphemous impostor promised to all such as purchased his indulgences, "that the gates of hell should be closed, and the gates of paradise and bliss should be open to them."—*Am. Ed.*

† Other accounts state that Luther had a companion on this occasion, who was struck dead at his side by the lightning.—*Am. Ed.*

‡ Milner states that Luther had been two years in his convent
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there were more Scriptures than those portions contained in the ordinary books of devotion. About this time, too, as he was suffering under distress of conscience, he was comforted by an aged brother of his order, who showed him, from the creed and a sermon of St. Bernard's, that remission of sins was to be had by faith alone. He applied himself diligently to the Scriptures and to the writings of St. Augustine, and was soon regarded as the most learned man of his order in Germany. He was ordained in 1507; and Frederick the Wise, the elector of Saxony, by the advice of Staupitz, the vicar-general of the Augustine order, made him professor of philosophy at Wittemberg. Three years after Luther visited Rome on the affairs of his convent, and returned with no very favourable impressions of the zeal and piety of the Italian clergy. After his return, he redoubled his application to the study of the Scriptures; and in 1512, having taken his doctor's degree, he expounded the Psalms and the Epistle to the Romans. He held the doctrines of election and of justification by faith only; and had begun to view the scholastic theology with indifference or contempt, on which account he was even then suspected of heresy.

While Luther was thus engaged in the search after, and the communication of, truth, Tetzel came into his neighbourhood. Some of those who made their confessions to Luther acknowledged sins of no common magnitude, and for which they pressingly demanded absolution. Luther refused, alleging that sincere contrition and heavy penance must precede. They then produced the indulgences which they had purchased from Tetzel. He bade them beware how they trusted to such things, and still denied them absolution. In this emergency they complained to Tetzel, who pronounced Luther a heretic, against whom, in virtue of his office of inquisitor, he was bound to pro-

before he discovered that there was a Bible in it; than which nothing could more strikingly show how little of the religion of the times was derived directly from the word of God.—*Am. Ed.*

ceed. Luther now set himself to examine the authority for the power of granting indulgences ; and, finding none, he began to preach openly against them.* Thus the warfare between him and the papacy began : but its progress, and its great and happy results, fall not properly within the limits of this history.

In England the doctrines of Wickliffe, in spite of the efforts of the clergy and the terrors of the stake, had secretly spread to a great extent. The books of the Saxon reformer, whose tenets were so nearly akin to his, were speedily translated and eagerly purchased. The bishops, however, exerted themselves to suppress the reformed practices and opinions. They acted on the slightest suspicions ; and it sufficed to bring a man to the stake that he had taught his children the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the commandments in the vulgar tongue. To damp the spirit of the reformers still more, the king himself came forward as the literary champion of the church. His course of studies had lain much among the schoolmen ; and the writings of that extraordinary genius, Thomas Aquinas, named the Angelic Doctor, were his chief favourites. As Luther, in his "Babylonish Captivity," had violently assailed these works, the choler of the royal theologian was excited ; and he resolved to enter the lists with the Saxon friar. With the aid of his bishops and of the learned Sir Thomas More, he produced, in the year 1521, a "Defence of the Seven Sacraments," which was respectable both in matter and style. It was dedicated to the pope, by whom it was received

* The common story of Luther's opposition to Tetzel having arisen from the disappointed avarice of the Augustinians, and their jealousy at the sale of indulgences being given to the Dominicans, is utterly devoid of foundation.†

† This story was first propagated by John Cochläus, a violent enemy of Luther, in a work of his, entitled *Historia de actis et scriptis Mart. Lutheri*, published in 1665. For its confutation, see note 18, p. 21, vol. iii., Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, Harpers' edition.

It has been fully proved by Sleidan, Seckar, and others, that the privilege of selling indulgences had been almost exclusively granted to the Dominicans ; and that, for fifty years before the time of Luther, it had been bestowed only on a single Augustinian.—*Am. Ed.*

with grateful acknowledgments; and the title of Defender of the Faith* was bestowed on its royal author. Luther, however, treated it with little respect; and as Henry, after the usage of the times, had given him hard names, he repaid the compliment in kind, and with interest.† He afterward, however, wrote an ample apology; but, with uncourtier-like simplicity, excused himself on the ground of his having been assured that the work was not the king's own, but the production of the Cardinal of York, "that object of hatred to both God and man—that pest of the English realm." It may easily be supposed that an apology like this tended little to mollify the sceptred controversialist, of whose zealous co-operation the pope and clergy now felt quite assured. Yet a deadly enmity and a final separation were to take place between the papacy and its royal champion; and the occasion was as follows.

Though Henry VII., in his anxiety to retain the Spanish portion and Spanish alliance, had disregarded the scruples of Warham, and had obtained the papal dispensation, he was not at ease in his mind about the matter; and he obliged the prince, when he attained the age of fourteen years, to make a formal protest against the consummation of the marriage;

* It is not a little singular, considering the origin of this title, that the Protestant sovereigns of England should have retained it to the present day.—*Am. Ed.*

† "The faults of Luther," says Schlegel, "were not the fruits of a corrupt heart, but of a warm, sanguine, choleric temperament, and the effects of his education, and of the times in which he lived. The harsh and passionate terms which he used were the controversial language of the age. He answered his opposers, even when they were kings and princes, with too great acrimony, with passion, and often with personal abuse. He acknowledged this as a fault, and commended Melancthon and Brentius, who exhibited more mildness in their conversation and writings. But it was his zeal for the truth which kindled his passions; and perhaps they were necessary in those times; perhaps, also, they were the consequence of his monastic life, in which he had no occasion to learn worldly courtesy. We say not this to justify Luther: he was a man, and he had human weaknesses; but he was clearly one of the best men known in that century."—*Am. Ed.*

and, when dying, he conjured him, it is said, to break it off. Catharine, however, had won the affections of young Henry and of the people by her amiable temper and her blameless manners; and he espoused her with general approbation. She bore him three sons and two daughters: but they all died in infancy except the Lady Mary, born in 1515. The queen now fell into ill health; her temper, naturally melancholy, became peevish; and, though she retained the king's esteem, she lost her hold on his affections. Nature, in fact, had destined Catharine for the convent rather than the court.*

Henry, who ardently longed for male issue, now gave up all hopes; and he therefore caused his daughter Mary to be proclaimed Princess of Wales in 1518. The early decease of his offspring, who had blossomed but to die, probably led him to reflect on the nature of his marriage. He consulted the pages of the Angelic Doctor; and there he found that the pope has not the power to dispense with the laws of God, among which is to be reckoned, as moral and eternal, that in the law of Moses prohibiting marriage with a brother's widow; and the very curse (that of childlessness) there denounced seemed to have fallen on him. It is not known when these scruples first began to affect Henry; but, according to his own assertion,† he ceased in 1524 to live with the queen.

In 1527, when a marriage was agreed on between the Princess Mary and the King of France or his son, the Bishop of Tarbes, the French ambassador, expressed some doubts as to her legitimacy. The king then mentioned his scruples to his confessor Longland, bishop of Lincoln. It is asserted by many writers (and it is perhaps the truth), that Wolsey, who hated the queen, because she rebuked him for his ill

* In the Appendix (G) will be found Sanders's account of her devotional exercises.

† He so said to Gryneus, as the latter tells Bucer in his letter of September 10, 1531. See Burnet, i., 75. This may have been on account of the queen's infirmities, though Henry said otherwise, for he was not a man of strict veracity.

life, and ardently longed for revenge on the emperor for his conduct concerning the papacy, was at the bottom of the whole proceeding; and that he first instilled doubts into the king's mind, and then engaged the Bishop of Tarbes to raise objections. Whether he were the original author of the scruples or not, the cardinal entered warmly into the project of procuring a divorce; thus avenging himself both on the queen and the emperor; while, at the same time, he planned a French connexion for his royal master. The person on whom he fixed was Renée, daughter to the late King Louis XII., and he went over himself to France, in the summer of the same year, on that project. But, while Wolsey was thus pursuing his schemes of ambition and revenge, a person of whom he little dreamed had acquired an invincible power over the heart of the king.

When the young widow of Louis XII. returned to England, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn remained behind, and was taken into the service of Claude, the queen of Francis I. After some years Anne Boleyn was recalled to England, and became one of the attendants of Queen Catharine; and, as she was beautiful in person, accomplished in manners, sensible, witty, and amiable in conversation, she was soon the object of general admiration. Lord Henry Percy, the heir of Northumberland, who was then in the family of the cardinal, paid his addresses to her. His suit was favourably received; but the king, it is said, had also felt the charms of the fair maid of honour, and the cardinal was directed to prevent the match. He accordingly reminded Percy of the inferiority of Anne's family, but the lover asserted that her lineage was equal to his own,* and refused to give her up. The cardinal grew angry, and said he would send for his father out of the north, who would soon make him break it off; and, when the old earl arrived,

* Her mother was sister to the Duke of Norfolk, and her father was son of one of the coheiresses of the Earl of Ormond.

used such arguments as convinced his son of the inutility of opposition, and obliged him to espouse the Lady Mary Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Anne was removed for some time from court ;* but her exile was not of long continuance ; and, some time after, the king revealed his passion to her. She fell on her knees, and said that he must be speaking only in jest and to prove her, and concluded with these words : " Most noble king, I will rather lose my life than my virtue, which shall be the greatest and the best part of the dowry that I shall bring my husband." Henry replied that he would still hope. " I understand not, most mighty king," said Anne, " how you should retain any such hope : your wife I cannot be, both in respect of my own unworthiness, and also because you have a queen already."† Ere long, however, she yielded so far, that she agreed to accept Henry's hand in case of his obtaining a divorce. Such conduct was certainly indelicate, according to our present notions ; but her own times do not seem to have regarded it in that light.

Henry was now resolved on obtaining a divorce from the court of Rome. This he judged would be a matter of little difficulty, as divorces had been granted in much less dubious cases ; and, moreover, the pope had a good excuse, the bull of Julius II. having been procured under false pretences. By orders from the king, Archbishop Warham assembled the bishops ; and they all, except Fisher of Rochester, signed an instrument expressing their doubts of the validity of the king's marriage. Dr. Knight, one of the royal secretaries, was then despatched to Rome in July, 1527. But the pontiff, Clement VII., was at that time shut up in the Castle of St. Angelo, a captive to the troops of the emperor, who had lately taken and sacked the city of Rome. Knight found great difficulty in com-

* " Whereat she smoked [fumed], for all this while she knew nothing of the king's intended purpose." (Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, i., 67.)

† Turner, from the Sloane MS., No. 2495.

municating with him ; and Clement, a timid, vacillating man, trembled at the idea of offending the emperor.* Henry in the mean time exerted himself for the pontiff's release ; and, when Clement at length made his escape to Orvieto, Knight had a personal interview with him, in which he was profuse in terms of gratitude to Henry, but implored for delay, lest he should be ruined by the incensed emperor. He gave it, however, as his private opinion to Casale, one of the English agents, that the best course for Henry would be to marry another wife, and then to sue for a divorce. But the king and his advisers saw too much difficulty in this course ; and it was resolved to send Stephen Gardiner, Wolsey's secretary, and Edward Fox, the king's almoner, to Italy. On their way, in 1528, they obtained, as directed, a promise from the King of France, to use his influence with the pope. They found Clement still at Orvieto on the 22d of March. He equivocated as usual ; but, on hearing that the French arms had had some success in Naples, he took courage, and issued a commission to the cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio, to try the cause in England. Nothing could be more pleasing to Henry than this ; for he reckoned that both would equally stand his friends, as he had some time before given to the latter the see of Salisbury and a palace at Rome. But Campeggio, acting in concert, as we may suppose, with the pope, made all the difficulty and delay possible ; pleading his legatine commission at Rome, and the gout with which he was afflicted. Wolsey wrote, urging his departure in the strongest terms, and at length he set out. He travelled, however, very leisurely, and did not reach England till October. He was received by Henry with the utmost respect ; but his instructions were to procrastinate. He advised the king to live with the queen, and

* Lord Bolingbroke (*Remarks on Hist. of England*) justly describes Clement as "the least scrupulous man alive ; who would have divorced him, or done any other pontifical job for him, if the league formed to reduce the emperor's power in Italy had succeeded."

counselled the queen to retire into a nunnery; but Henry was determined to marry Anne Boleyn, and Catharine had too much spirit to surrender her rights.

All hopes of accommodation being at an end, and all his subterfuges having been exhausted, Campeggio was obliged to consent to the opening of the legatine court. It commenced its sittings on the 31st of May, 1529, in a hall of the convent of the Black Friars. The royal pair took up their abode in the adjoining palace of Bridewell, to be at hand. After going through the preliminary forms, the legates cited the king and queen to appear on the 18th of June. On that day Henry appeared by his proctors, but the queen in person. She protested against the competency of the court, as the cause had been evoked to Rome by the pope. This, she said, her nephew was exerting himself to effect; and, with the delay of a few days, she pledged herself to prove that it had been done. The court was then adjourned to the 21st, when both parties appeared in person. On their names being called, the king answered "Here;" but the queen rose up, and, going over, knelt down before the king, and said that "she was a poor woman and a stranger in his dominions, had been his wife for twenty years and more, had borne him several children, and had ever studied to please him. If she had done anything amiss, she was willing to be put away with shame. Their parents were esteemed very wise princes, and no doubt had good and learned counsellors when the match was agreed on. She would not, therefore, submit to the court, as her lawyers durst not speak freely for her, but desired to be excused till she heard from Spain." She then rose and left the court, and would never again appear. The king publicly bore testimony to her virtues, and declared that nothing but the uneasiness of his conscience, and the doubts cast by foreign powers on the legitimacy of his daughter, could have induced him to take a step which thus wounded her feelings. At the desire of Wolsey he farther declared, that, instead of urging him to this

course as was reported, the cardinal had at first opposed his scruples.

The court sat again on the 25th; the queen, not appearing when summoned, was pronounced contumacious; and the legates proceeded, on this and other days, to hear the evidence on the king's part. The proofs given of Arthur's consummation of his marriage were such as can leave, we apprehend, little doubt on any reasonable mind;* and the king was in full expectation of a sentence in his favour,† when Campeggio, on the 23d of July, suddenly adjourned the court to the 1st of October, alleging that the vacation of the consistory at Rome, of which this court, he said, was a part, had commenced, and would last till that day. The dukes of Noriolk and Suffolk, and other peers who were present, were greatly enraged at this artifice; and Suffolk, striking the table, cried, "By the mass, I see that the old saw is true; never was there legate or cardinal that did any good in England." Wolsey rebuked him with firmness for his conduct, and reminded him of the obligation which he himself had once been under to a cardinal. The court then broke up. The king, who was in an adjoining room, took the matter with wonderful patience, expecting a favourable sentence in October; but his hopes were crushed, when, on the 4th of August, a messenger arrived with citations for him and the queen to appear, in person or by proxy, at Rome. The emperor had by this time, through threats and promises, completely gained over the pontiff, from whose thoughts nothing was now farther than any idea of gratifying Henry.

To Wolsey nothing could have been more calam-

* See Burnet, i., p. 63. A summary of the depositions will be found in Herbert. See also the discourse between Wolsey and the queen's almoner, in the Illustrative Documents in Singer's edition of Cavendish's Life of Wolsey. With all our respect for the piety and virtue of Catharine, we find it impossible to credit her assertion to the contrary.

† For Campeggio had brought over and shown him a bull for the divorce, in case the consummation of the former marriage should be proved.

itous than the turn which things had taken. The queen and her friends looked on him as the source and origin of all the evil; Norfolk, Suffolk, and the other lay lords had long been envious and jealous of him; and they now took occasion to instil doubts and suspicions of him into the mind of the king and of Anne Boleyn, with the latter of whom he had been on terms of great cordiality. For though, when Henry first informed him of his intentions with respect to her, he threw himself on his knees and earnestly endeavoured to turn him from them, when he found him inflexible, he entered, in appearance, cordially into his views. It is, however, likely that Anne was informed by her lover of his efforts to prevent her elevation, and this may have disposed her to join with the cardinal's enemies. It was, therefore, probably owing to her influence, that when, about the end of September, Wolsey accompanied Campeggio to Grafton, in Northamptonshire (where the king then was staying), on the occasion of that cardinal's audience of leave previous to his return to Italy, though he was received with tolerable civility, there was an absence of Henry's former kindness. This was his last interview with the king.

An actor, destined to be of great importance, now makes his first appearance on the scene. As the king was returning to London, he stopped for a few days at Waltham, to take the pleasure of the chase. Fox and Gardiner, who were in his train, were there entertained by a gentleman named Cressy. Here they met an old college acquaintance, Dr. Thomas Cranmer, a lecturer in theology at Cambridge, and well versed in the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the religious controversies at this time prevalent. At supper, the king's case, the common topic of conversation, was introduced. Cranmer said that the opinions of universities, and eminent divines and canonists, should be taken, and the matter thus decided. Fox and Gardiner were pleased with the idea; and when, the next day, the court returned to Greenwich, and the king began to ask them what was now to be done,

Fox mentioned this plan, honestly naming the author; for which Gardiner afterward reproved him, as they might, he said, have taken the credit of it to themselves. The king was struck with it, and asked if Cranmer was still at Waltham. They said they had left him there. "Marry, then," said he, "I will surely speak to him. Let him be sent for out of hand. I perceive that this man hath the sow by the right ear. If I had but known this device two years ago, it had been in my way a great piece of money, and had also rid me of much disquietness." Cranmer, who had returned to Cambridge, was brought up to London. The king was greatly pleased with his modesty and learning, opened his mind to him, and desired him to put his sentiments on the case in writing; for which purpose he directed the Lord Rochfort, Anne Boleyn's father,* to take him home to his house, and furnish him with books and everything else that he required.

The fall of Wolsey was now at hand. At the opening of the Michaelmas term, he proceeded to the court of chancery with his usual pomp and state. Three days after, he was waited on by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with an order to resign the great seal, and retire to Esher, in Surrey, where was a house belonging to his see of Winchester. He refused, alleging that he held the seals by patent. A warm altercation ensued; the two dukes, finding him inflexible, rode to Windsor, and next day returned with a letter from the king, at the sight of which Wolsey submitted. Having caused an inventory to be made of his immense quantity of plate, linen, hangings, furniture, &c., at York Place (afterward named White Hall), the whole of which the king required him to give up, he entered his barge to proceed towards his destination. The river was covered with boats, full of people expecting to see him taken to the Tower; but, to their disappointment, his barge went up the stream. At Putney he landed, and mounted his mule to go on to Esher. He was not quite clear

* He had been created Viscount Rochfort in 1523.

of the village, when he was met by Norris, groom of the stole,* bearing him a ring and a kind message from the king. Abject in adversity as he had been insolent and haughty in prosperity,† he threw himself from his mule, took off his cap, and knelt in the mire to receive the communication. He then proceeded, in better spirits, to his place of exile.

The king now summoned a parliament, for the first time for seven years. The House of Lords forthwith voted a long and vague charge, in forty-four articles, against the fallen favourite; but, when it was sent down to the Commons, Thomas Cromwell, a servant of the cardinal, who had procured a seat in parliament for the express purpose, defended his patron with such fidelity and spirit, as stopped the bill in that house, and laid the foundation of his own future favour with the king, who knew how to value worth and honesty.‡ Wolsey was also indicted on the statute of provisions, for having exercised his legatine authority. Though he had obtained the royal license for that purpose, he did not venture to plead it; and a sentence of *præmunire*§ was passed on him. The king, however, who, it would appear, only wished to humble him, hearing that he had fallen sick, directed his own physician to attend him, and sent him another ring, accompanied by kind messages both from himself and Anne Boleyn. He farther granted him, on the 12th of February, 1530, a full pardon; allowed him to retain the see of York, with a pension of four thousand marks (\$12,800) a year out of that of Winchester; made him a present of plate and furniture to the value of £6000 (\$29,000),

* The principal gentleman of the king's bedchamber.—*Am. Ed.*

† How different from the noble-minded Becket! The times, however, were altered.

‡ Cavendish, i., 207. Lingard, however (vi, 160), thinks that Cromwell acted under the direction of the king in the whole affair.

§ A sentence decreeing the punishment which he should be subjected to for his violation of the above-mentioned statute; and which was, "that he was out of the protection of the law; that his lands, goods, and chattels were forfeited, and that his person was at the mercy of the king."—*Am. Ed.*

and gave him permission to move to Richmond. But his enemies would not allow him to remain so near the court, and he received orders to go and reside in his diocese. He alleged his poverty : money was then sent him, and in Passion-week he set forth for the north, in melancholy mood. His train consisted of one hundred and sixty servants, and seventy-two carts laden with provisions and furniture. He stopped till midsummer at Southwell, a house belonging to his see ; then removed to Scroby, another of his houses farther north ; and finally, about the end of September, fixed himself at Cawood, a village within a few miles of York. At these places he endeared himself to all classes of the people by his affability, his charity, and his strict discharge of his religious duties. The ceremony of his installation in the cathedral was fixed for Monday, the 1st of November ; but, on the preceding Friday, his former servant, Henry Percy, now earl of Northumberland, arrived, and arrested him on a charge of high treason. As he was departing, the peasantry assembled, crying, " God save your grace ! God save your grace ! The foul fiend take them that have thus hurried you from us ! We pray God that every vengeance may light upon them ! " He stayed for a fortnight with the Earl of Shrewsbury, at Sheffield Park. Here he was seized with a dysentery ; but he resumed his journey, and got as far as Leicester, when the abbot of the convent of that place came forth with his monks to receive him. " Father abbot," said the dying cardinal, " I am come to leave my bones among you." He was then conveyed to a chamber, which he never left. When he found himself dying, he addressed Sir William Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, who had him in charge, praying him to recommend him to the king. " He is," said he, " a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart ; and rather than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of his kingdom. I do assure you that I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will

and appetite, but could not prevail. Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, He would not have given me over in my gray hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my indulgent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince."* On the 28th of November, and shortly after uttering these words, he breathed his last.

On the fall of the cardinal, the Duke of Norfolk, Anne's uncle, became the leading person in the cabinet; Gardiner was made secretary, and Sir Thomas More chancellor. As the pope and emperor were to meet at Bologna for the coronation of the latter, an embassy, headed by Anne's father (lately created Earl of Wiltshire), was sent thither to attend to Henry's interests; and Cranmer and other divines† accompanied them. Charles, on their introduction to him, said to the earl, "Stop, sir; allow your colleagues to speak; you are a party in the cause." The earl replied with spirit, that he was not there as a father, but as his prince's minister; and that the emperor's opposition should not prevent his sovereign from demanding and obtaining justice. From the pope, however, no satisfaction could be obtained. Henry finally resolved to put Cranmer's plan into execution; and measures were adopted for collecting the opinions of universities, theologians, and canonists.

The king first applied to his own universities of Oxford and Cambridge; and, not without great difficulty and able management on the part of Fox and Gardiner, obtained from them an opinion that his marriage was unlawful; but they would say nothing respecting the power of the pope to dispense. The truth is, they feared the progress of the new opinions, and wished not to weaken the papal authority. Agents were also

* "Had such feelings," says Mackintosh, "pervaded his life, instead of shining at the moment of death, his life would have been pure, especially if his conception of his duty had been as exact as his sense of its obligation was strong."—*Am. Ed.*

† "Among whom was Thomas Cranmer, a clergyman attached to the Boleyn family," says Lingard. The object of this first notice of Cranmer is evident.

employed on the Continent, to procure the opinions of the universities there, and of eminent divines and civilians; and the result was highly favourable to the views of Henry. Not only the French universities (which might be suspected to be under the influence of their king), but those of Italy, even Bologna, which was in the dominions of the pope, decined in favour of the divorce; and the principal divines and canonists did the same, notwithstanding that Henry's agents, it is said, gave no money but the usual fees to the canon lawyers, while the emperor showered preferments on those who gave sentence against it.* The Jews, when consulted, declared the prohibition in Leviticus to be universally binding, while the case of exception in Deuteronomy was restricted to Judæa. Zuinglius and the Swiss reformers likewise pronounced the marriage unlawful. The German reformers, in general, took the most rational and moderate view of the case. They said that the marriage should not have taken place originally; but that, since it had been contracted, it should not be dissolved.† It may therefore be said, that the general opinion of Europe was, that marriage with a brother's widow was against the law of God.‡

The whole question, in effect, comes to this: Was the law in Leviticus of universal obligation, or merely peculiar to the Hebrew nation; was the exception in Deuteronomy coextensive with the former prohibition, and had the pope the power of dispensing with the divine law? At the present day the answer would be simple: it is now generally agreed, that both the prohibition and the exception were for the Israelites alone, though the former has very properly been

* The natural, we might say inevitable, supposition is, that bribery was employed on both sides: but the emperor and pope had certainly the means of giving much higher rewards than Henry.

† Agreeably to the maxim of the civil law respecting clandestine marriages: *Quod fieri non debuit factum valet*—(That which should not be done, having been done, it is valid.)

‡ It is, however, to be observed, that they all went on the supposition of the first marriage having been consummated.

adopted in the codes of Christian nations. We should therefore say, with the German reformers, that a man in Henry's case would not be justified in putting away his wife. But in Henry's time, men had not generally arrived at this rational mode of viewing the Mosaic law. The prevalent opinion undoubtedly was, that such a marriage was incestuous, and should be dissolved. At all events, had Catharine not been aunt to the emperor, it seems probable that the holy father, who had always been so ready to oblige his royal children in these matters, would have granted Henry a divorce without hesitation.*

A memorial, which had been signed by Warham and Wolsey, and by four bishops, twenty-two abbots, and several of the temporal nobility, was now transmitted to Rome, praying his holiness to attend to the opinions of so many eminent men, and to decide the question; hinting also that, if he did not, it would be decided in England without him. Clement was in the utmost extremity: he feared lest England might follow the example of the north of Germany, and cast off her allegiance to the holy see; while, at the same time, he stood in awe of the emperor, who steadfastly maintained the cause of his aunt, and would only consent to Henry's espousing Anne by what is termed a left-handed marriage, thus reserving all their rights to Catharine and her daughter. But Henry spurned at this when it was hinted to him; and declared he would be regularly divorced, and that he would have no compromise.

Thomas Cromwell, who had so honourably distinguished himself by fidelity to his patron Wolsey in his

* Only a few years before, Louis XII. of France had been divorced, in order to enable him to marry Anne of Bretagne. In our own day we have seen a similar favour conferred on Napoleon.†

† In this latter case, however, it should in justice be stated, that the pope, at the time of granting the divorce here alluded to, was, in fact, a prisoner in the hands of the French emperor; and it may be fairly questioned, therefore, whether, under such circumstances, the act of the pontiff was not, in a degree at least, compulsory.—*Am. Ed.*

fall, was now in the service of the king. He was of humble origin, being the son of a fuller, at Putney, near London. He had served as a private soldier in Italy, and was afterward for some time in a mercantile house at Venice. On his return to England he commenced the study of the law; and Wolsey, who knew so well how to appreciate talent, having had occasion to notice his abilities, took him into his service. In a conversation one day with Reginald Pole, Cromwell spoke slightly of the notions of vice and virtue held by men who dwelt in academic shades, away from the world; and said that the business of the man who would rise was to divine, if possible, the real thoughts and wishes of his prince, and gratify them in such a manner as to save all appearances. He also praised Machiavel, and offered to lend him that writer's "Prince." Pole, who was really an upright, virtuous man, and who cordially detested the principles that work appeared to inculcate, and which, he inferred, were those on which Cromwell acted, instantly conceived the worst opinion possible of him; and that opinion has been, of course, propagated by all the writers of his communion, while Protestants are perhaps too anxious to justify the conduct of so important an agent in the Reformation. Cromwell was, in fact, an ambitious man, and little scrupulous about means, provided he could gratify the wishes of his royal master.

Cromwell, who had been appointed by Wolsey to manage the revenues of the monasteries, which that prelate had dissolved with the papal approbation, had imbibed no very high notions of the rights and authority of the holy see. He now boldly advised Henry to take to himself the supremacy over the church and clergy of England. Henry listened with approbation. As Wolsey had not pleaded the royal permission for exercising his legatine authority, the whole of the clergy were liable to the penalty of a *præmunire* for having submitted to it, and proceedings accordingly were instituted against them. Flagrantly unjust as this procedure was, they saw no remedy but that of

purchasing indemnity ; and, when the convocation met in 1531, they voted the king £100,000 (\$480,000), under the name of a benevolence, for his services in writing against Luther and protecting the church. But this peace-offering did not suffice ; and, after some opposition, they were obliged to acknowledge him as supreme head of the church of England, "*as far as the law of Christ will allow.*"* A formal indemnity was then granted to them. The connexion between the papacy and the English clergy was thus nearly dissolved ; and in the parliament of the following year, 1532, a farther blow was given to the influence of the court of Rome, by a bill reducing the first-fruits to be paid by bishops to five per cent. on the nett income of the see ; adding that, if the bull of consecration was withheld on account of them, the bishop-elect should be consecrated by a mandate from the crown, and that all interdicts and other censures should be disregarded. Other measures against the papacy were proposed ; but the appearance of the plague caused a prorogation. At this time Sir Thomas More, who was sincerely devoted to the church as it then existed, seeing whither the king and parliament were tending, desired, and with some difficulty obtained, permission to resign the great seal, which was then given to Sir Thomas Audley.

But, while the clergy were thus made to infringe on the claims of their head, they were left full power to persecute those who rejected the real presence, and appealed in support of their religious views to the Scriptures. At this time, Thomas Bilney, a fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, was burned as a heretic at Norwich ; and Richard Bayfield, a Benedictine monk, James Bainham, of the Middle Temple, and a tradesman named Tewksbury, underwent the same fate at Smithfield.

* This salvo was suggested by Fisher, bishop of Rochester, as being the only condition on which he would consent to acknowledge the king as head of the church ; and as it admitted of a construction widely different from that intended by the proposer, Henry and his ministers appear to have had no objection to it.

For a person of his temper, and in love with one whose virtue was invincible, Henry had shown marvellous patience. But that patience was now nearly exhausted. Hitherto he had treated Catharine with all due respect as his queen; but, when she could not be induced to withdraw her appeal to Rome, it was signified to her, on the 14th of July, 1531, that she must leave Windsor, where the court then was, and retire to one of three abodes which were specified. She replied, "That to whatever place she might remove, nothing could remove her from being the king's lawful wife." She went from one place to another, and finally fixed at Ampthill in Bedfordshire. The pope wrote to expostulate with Henry for thus putting away his queen; but he received rather a sharp reply. It was then proposed to cite Henry again to Rome. On hearing of this, the king sent thither, as his *excusator*, Sir Edward Karne, who was accompanied by one Edmund Bonner, afterward so notorious. Karne purchased over some of the leading cardinals; but still the pope equivocated and delayed; and at length Karne told him, that, as the Church of England was an independent church, the matter could be decided without any reference to him whatever. Henry himself had an interview with the King of France, to confirm their friendship and alliance; and, on the death of that estimable prelate, Archbishop Warham, he resolved to confer the see of Canterbury on Cranmer, who had now been for some time resident ambassador at the imperial court.

Cranmer had by this time embraced most of the reformed doctrines; he had, moreover, formed a matrimonial union with the niece of Osiander, one of the German divines. He saw the difficulties which environed him, and would most willingly have declined the proffered honour; but he had to deal with one who would not lightly suffer his will to be disputed. He made all the delay he possibly could, and did not reach England till the month of November. He tried to turn Henry from his purpose, by stating that, if he should receive the dignity, it must be from the pope, which

he neither would nor could consent to do, as the king was the only governor of the church, in all causes, both temporal and spiritual. Henry, unable to overcome this objection, took the opinion of some eminent civilians upon it; and they advised that the prelate elect should, previously to taking the oath to the pope, make a solemn protest, that he did not consider himself thereby bound to do anything contrary to the law of God, or his duty as a subject. Cranmer, whose modesty and diffidence always led him to receive with deference the opinions of those learned in their profession, ceased from opposition. The king applied to Rome for the pall* and the usual bulls. Clement, aware of Cranmer's principles, hesitated at first, but finally sent them. The consecration was appointed to take place on the 30th of March, 1533, in St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster. On that day Cranmer went into the Chapter-house, and, in the presence of five most respectable witnesses, made his protest. He then proceeded to the chapel, where the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph stood ready to perform the ceremony. He there again declared that he would take the oath only as limited by his protest; and, on receiving the pall, he made this declaration for the third time. Cranmer thus attained the highest dignity of the English church in the forty-fourth year of his age, and within four years of the time when he became first known to the king.

Opinions are divided with regard to the conduct of Cranmer on this occasion. We ourselves highly condemn the principle on which he acted, and agree with Dr. Lingard, that "oaths cease to offer any security, if their meaning may be qualified by previous protestations, made without the knowledge of the party who is principally interested."† But, at the same time, we are fully convinced that Cranmer was satisfied in con-

* The mantle worn by an archbishop, and which was required to be received from Rome for his consecration.—*Am. Ed.*

† In 1526, Francis I., before signing the treaty of Madrid, made a secret protest against it, and the pope felt no hesitation in freeing him from the oath.

science of the rectitude of his proceeding; and that Clement must have known in his heart that the new prelate would not, and could not, take the oath of canonical obedience unreservedly.

The passion of the king would brook no longer delay. In the autumn of the preceding year he had raised Anne Boleyn to the dignity of Marchioness of Pembroke, and he now resolved to advance her to the throne. Early on the morning of the 25th of January, 1533, he was secretly married to her by Dr. Rowland Lee, one of his chaplains.

On Easter-eve Anne appeared as queen; and, on the 8th of May, Cranmer and those appointed to act with him repaired to Dunstable, within six miles of Amptill, to hold a court for trying the question of the divorce. As Catharine took no notice of the citation, she was pronounced contumacious; the former evidence was all gone through again; and, on the 23d of May, the marriage between Henry and Catharine was pronounced to have been null and void from the commencement. On Whit-Sunday (June 1st) Anne was crowned by the primate. Neither menaces nor promises could ever induce Catharine to forego what she deemed her rights; and she insisted to the last on being treated as queen by all who approached her.

When the news of what had been done reached Rome, the conclave was highly incensed; but the wary pontiff would go no farther than to declare Cranmer's sentence null, and Henry's second marriage illegal; and a threat of excommunication was added if he did not replace matters on a former footing. Clement's thoughts were now engrossed by a project for marrying his niece, the famous Catharine de' Medici, to the Duke of Orleans, son of the King of France, who was on terms of great amity with Henry, and whom he was loath to offend. At the interview which took place in the following October between the pontiff and the French king at Marseilles, when the marriage was celebrated, Francis exerted himself to effect an arrangement between the former and the King of England. Clement seemed inclined to gratify Henry, pro-

vided he returned to his obedience. Bonner, however, who was Henry's agent there, when he found that he could get no definite answer from the pope, presented, on the 7th of November, an appeal to a general council, with which he was intrusted. Clement was highly indignant, and rejected it as being unlawful.

On the 7th of September* Henry's new queen gave birth to a princess, who was baptized with great pomp by the name of Elizabeth, after her paternal grandmother; the primate, and the duchess-dowager of Norfolk, and the marchioness-dowager of Dorset standing sponsors. Soon after she was declared Princess of Wales, as her sister Mary had been, though she was only presumptive heiress to the throne.

It is melancholy to observe how the sanguinary spirit of the Romish church still continued to prevail in England. On the 4th of July in this year, the flames of persecution consumed two more victims. The one was John Frith, one of the Cambridge men whom Wolsey had removed to his new college at Oxford, and the intimate friend of Tyndal, who was now engaged in translating and printing the Scriptures at Antwerp. Frith denied both transubstantiation and purgatory. He had put his sentiments on the former subject in writing; and the paper was treacherously conveyed to Sir T. More, who attempted to refute it; and this drew forth a masterly reply from Frith, who was now a prisoner in the Tower. On the 20th of June, he was brought before Stokesley, bishop of London, who was assisted by Gardiner (lately raised to the see of Winchester), and Longland, of Lincoln. He firmly maintained his opinions, whereupon his judge delivered him over to the secular powers; "most earnestly requiring them, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus, that this execution and punishment, worthily to be done on him, might be so moderate that the rigour thereof should not be extreme, nor yet the gentleness too

* That this, and not the 13th, as stated by Cranmer, is the true date, is put beyond question by the queen's own letter in the State Papers, i., 407, and by the calendars to the Book of Common Prayer in the reign of Elizabeth.

much mitigated ; but that it might be to the salvation of the soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of heretics, and to the unity of the Catholic faith :” the true meaning of which blasphemous cant is, that he was to be roasted to death with all gentleness and moderation. Frith suffered with the greatest constancy at Smithfield ; and with him was burned a tailor’s apprentice, named Andrew Hewit, who had also denied the corporeal presence in the sacrament.

In the succeeding parliament of 1534, rapid progress was made in casting off the yoke of Rome : provisions, bulls, etc., were abolished ; no money was to be sent to Rome ; monasteries were subjected to the king alone, and bishops were to be elected on a *cong   d’  lire*, or *permission to elect*, from the crown. A law was passed to regulate the succession to the throne. In this the marriage with Catharine was declared unlawful and void, and that with Anne was confirmed ; the crown was to descend to the issue of this latter marriage ; and any person who did anything in derogation of the lawfulness of the king’s marriage with Queen Anne, or to endanger the succession as thus limited, was to suffer death as a traitor.

An oath was enjoined to be taken by all persons to maintain this order of succession, under penalty of the consequences of misprision of treason. The Bishop of Rochester and Sir T. More were the only persons of note who refused to take this oath ; but they only objected to the preamble, asserting the nullity of the king’s former marriage, and offered to swear without reservation to the succession as proposed. They were both committed to the Tower.

Fisher had already been punished for the countenance he had given to a notorious imposture. There was a woman at Aldington in Kent, named Elizabeth Barton, who was subject to hysterical fits, in which she used to utter much incoherent rhapsody. The priest of the parish, one Masters, thought that these ravings might be turned to a profitable account. He affected to regard them as inspirations of the Holy Spirit ; and, going to Primate Warham, who was at

that time living, he reported the case, and received directions from the pious but credulous prelate to watch her future trances, and give him an account of them. Masters gradually induced the poor woman to counterfeit these trances, and to utter in them what he should direct. His great object was to make an image of the Virgin, which stood in a chapel of his parish, an object of pilgrimage, and, consequently, of emolument to himself. Elizabeth, therefore, was instructed to say, that the Virgin had appeared to her, and declared that if she went to the chapel of Court-at-Street she would be cured. The news was spread; and on the appointed day more than two thousand persons assembled to witness the miracle, which took place, they were assured, in due form, and they went away quite satisfied of the sanctity of the image. Elizabeth was now, in 1526, removed to Canterbury, where she took the veil; and Dr. Bocking, a monk of Christ Church, and a confederate of Masters, became her future director.

Others were now received into the confederacy; the visions and revelations of the prophetess became more numerous, and one Deering made a book of them, which the primate put into the hands of the king. He showed it to Sir Thomas More, who pronounced it to be silly stuff. No farther notice was taken of her till the question of the divorce and separation from Rome came to be warmly agitated. She was then put forward again. A monk wrote a letter in gold characters, which she was to pretend had been given her by Mary Magdalen; and she was also taught to assert, that when the king was at Calais in 1532, she was invisibly present as he was hearing mass, and that an angel had brought her the holy wafer from the priest. These fictions were merely intended to gain for her credit with the people, and then the visions of real importance were to be produced. An angel, she pretended, now came to her, desiring her to go to the infidel king and order him to do three things: to leave his rights to the pope, to destroy the folk of the new opinion, and to keep his lawful wife. She also

declared, that if the king married Anne Boleyn, he would not retain the throne more than a month, and would die a villain's death. Two agents of the pope now countenanced her, and Bishop Fisher was so weak as to become one of her secret advisers. More, too, had an interview with her, in which he asked her to pray for him; and he expressed his belief that Heaven was working "some good and great things by her." Queen Catharine's chaplain, Abel, also communicated with the prophetess. It would farther seem that the Observant Friars, whom Henry VII. had greatly favoured, were engaged in the conspiracy. It was in their chapel at Sion House that More saw her; and when, in the summer of this year, Henry was at Greenwich, Father Peto, of their order, preaching before him, likened him and the queen to Ahab and Jezebel, and bade him beware lest the dogs should lick his blood. Henry bore this insolence with patience; and only directed that Dr. Curwin should preach the following Sunday in reply. In his sermon Curwin called Peto abundance of foul names: when another friar, named Elstow, who was sitting in the rood-loft,* burst out into a torrent of invective, and was only silenced by the voice of the king. The next day the two friars were summoned before the council and reprimanded. Cromwell told them they deserved to be tied in a sack and flung into the Thames. "Threaten such things," said Elstow, with a bitter smile, "to rich and dainty folk which are clothed in purple, fare delicately, and have their chief hope in the present world: we esteem them not, when, for the discharge of our duty, we are driven hence. Thank God, we know the way to heaven to be as near by water as by land; nor care we, therefore, by which of these two roads we travel thither." Who can question the sincerity of these men?

It was deemed advisable to arrest the Holy Maid of Kent and her accomplices. By the efforts of Cran-

* The place where the rood or crucifix was placed; it was over the entrance to the chancel.

mer, Cromwell, and a zealous divine named Hugh Latimer, their arts were traced out; and, when brought before the Star Chamber, they made a voluntary confession. They were then conveyed to Canterbury, and there, during sermon-time, exposed on a stage in the churchyard and rebuked by the preacher. They underwent a similar exposure at St. Paul's Cross in London, and were made to read out a confession of their imposture. They were then sent to the Tower; and as it was found that the Romish party was tampering with the nun, to get her to deny all she had said, they were attainted of treason. The nun, Masters, Bocking, and three others, were executed at Tyburn on the 21st of April. She acknowledged her guilt; but justly said that her accomplices, who were learned men, were more to blame than she, "a poor wench without learning."* As the Observants persisted in assailing the king's divorce, their order was suppressed in the course of the year.

The king's supremacy was now generally acknowledged, and the rupture with Rome might be regarded as complete. But the regular clergy were highly dissatisfied with the change. The first symptoms of resistance appeared at the Charter House in London; the inmates of which, persuaded that the admission of the papal supremacy was necessary for salvation, had sought to instil this belief into the minds of their penitents. These fanatic monks prepared themselves for martyrdom in what they believed to be the cause of truth; the priors of two other houses came and joined them; a system of resistance to the government was gradually organized; and, if not checked in time, might spread over the whole kingdom. The three priors, and three others, were therefore arrested, and

* A more charitable judgment is pronounced on this unhappy female by some other historians. Sir James Mackintosh considers her to have been a sincere, though a very weak and credulous woman, the unsuspecting dupe of others; and, speaking of her punishment, says, "She was executed for misfortunes which ignorance and superstition regarded as crimes; for the incoherent language and dark visions of a disturbed, if not an alienated mind."—*Am. Ed.*

tried for high treason. The jury hesitated to find such holy men guilty ; but Cromwell forced them, by menaces, to give the verdict he desired. They were executed at Tyburn on the 4th of May, 1535. Three more Carthusians at London, and two at York, suffered the same fate shortly after. About the same time fourteen Dutch reformers, who had taken refuge in England, were burned as Anabaptists.

More illustrious victims were now to bleed. Fisher and More had lain for upward of a twelvemonth in the Tower. The former, a man far advanced in life, would perhaps have been suffered to end his days in prison, had it not been that Paul III., the successor of Clement, subjected him to the suspicions of the government by raising him to the dignity of cardinal.* Fisher, now on the verge of eternity, made light of the honour: "If the red hat," said he, "were lying at my feet, I would not stoop to pick it up." The king, on the other hand, is said to have declared that "the pope might send him a cardinal's hat, but that he should have no head to wear it." He was arraigned, on the 17th of June, before the chancellor, the judges, and some of the peers, on a charge of having denied the king's supremacy, and was sentenced to die as a traitor. On the morning of his execution, the 22d, he dressed himself with great care. "My lord," said his servant, "surely you forget that, after the short space of some two hours, you must strip off these things, and never wear them more." "What of that?" replied he; "dost thou not mark that this is my wedding-day?" On account of his infirmities, he was carried on a chair to the place of execution. He held in his hand a New Testament, which he opened at a venture, and lighted on this passage: "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true

* The object of Paul in bestowing this new dignity on the bishop, undoubtedly was, the more effectually to protect him against the malice of his enemies. Unhappily, however, it had a directly opposite effect; for Henry was incensed that the pope should think, by any grace he could confer, to screen an obnoxious subject from his anger.—*Am. Ed.*

God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent. I have glorified thee on earth, I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do." He closed the book, saying, "Here is learning enough for me to my life's end." He mounted the scaffold without aid, briefly addressed the spectators, telling them he came to die for the faith of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, then meekly laid his head on the block, and it was severed from his body at a single blow. Thus perished this venerable, upright, and pious prelate : a martyr to the rights of conscience.

It had probably been hoped that this severity towards Fisher would have the effect of intimidating More, whose acquiescence in the new order of things it was thought of the utmost importance to gain. But, as no such result followed, he also was arraigned, on the 1st of July, for imagining to deprive the king of his title and dignity. His refusal to answer some ensnaring questions, which had been previously put to him, was pronounced to be malicious ; and Rich, the solicitor-general, was base enough to give in evidence such expressions as he had drawn from him in a confidential interview ; the truth of which, however, the prisoner denied, and which two persons who were present said they did not hear. He was, notwithstanding, pronounced guilty. When asked what he had to say why judgment should not be given against him, he asserted that the act on which he was indicted was repugnant to the laws of God and his holy church, the supreme government of which no temporal prince might presume to take on himself, it being granted by our Saviour himself only to St. Peter and his successors, bishops of the same see. The chancellor observed, that, seeing the bishops, the universities, and best learned men in the realm had agreed to it, it was much marvelled that he alone should oppose it. More replied, that, if numbers were to decide, most bishops and good men, both of those who were now alive and those who were glorified saints in heaven, would be found to be on his side. Sentence was then passed on him, and he was reconducted to the Tower.

At the Tower-wharf his favourite daughter, Margaret Roper, was waiting to meet him. When she beheld him she rushed through the guards, threw her arms about his neck, and kissed him. He gave her his blessing, and comforted her. She retired; but, overcome by filial affection, she ran back, took him again around the neck, and kissed him several times "most lovingly." She then finally departed with a sorrowful heart, most of the by-standers shedding tears at this beautiful instance of natural affection.

On the 6th of July, his friend Sir Thomas Pope came to him early in the morning, with directions from the king and council to prepare himself to die by nine o'clock. "Master Pope," said More, "I have been always much bounden to the king's highness for the benefits and honours that he hath still, from time to time, most bountifully heaped upon me; and yet more bounden am I to his grace for putting me into this place, where I have had convenient time and space to have remembrance of my end. And, so help me God, most of all, Master Pope, am I beholden to his highness that it pleaseth him so shortly to rid me out of all the miseries of this wretched world; and therefore will I not fail earnestly to pray for his grace, both here and in the world to come." Pope then told him that it was the king's wish that he should not make any address at his execution. More entreated him to intercede with the king to allow his daughter, Margaret Roper, to be present at his burial; whereat Pope assured him that the king was content that his wife and family, and his friends, should be present at it. "Oh how much beholden then am I unto his grace," said More, "that unto my poor burial he vouchsafest to have so gracious consideration!" Sir Thomas Pope then took leave of him with tears.

More now put on his best apparel, "as one that had been invited to a solemn feast;" but, at the suggestion of the lieutenant, he changed it. On coming to the scaffold, observing it to be weak and shaking, he said in his usual jocular manner, "I pray you, master lieutenant, see me safe up, and for my coming down

let me shift for myself." He called on the people to pray for him, and to bear witness that he suffered death in and for the faith of the Catholic Church. He then knelt down and prayed: when he rose, the executioner, as usual, asked his forgiveness. "Pluck up thy spirits, man," said he, "and be not afraid to do thine office. My neck is very short: take heed, therefore, thou strike not awry, for saving of thy honesty" [honour]. As he knelt at the block, he bade the executioner to stay till he had put his beard aside: "for," said he, "it never committed treason."* He prayed to himself; and the axe descending, terminated his mortal existence in the fifty-fifth year of his age.†

None of the many violent acts committed by Henry has brought such obloquy on his name as the execution of Sir Thomas More. For, exclusively of his having suffered in the cause of the Romish faith, More was a scholar and a distinguished member of the republic of letters. A general outcry was therefore raised by the friends of literature and the papacy. Erasmus published, under a feigned name, an interesting narrative of his martyrdom; while Reginald Pole seized with avidity the occasion of pouring forth

* There is a degree of levity in these sayings seemingly but little suited to so awful an occasion. Addison, in remarking on the conduct of Sir Thomas More at the time of his execution, says: "What was only philosophy in this extraordinary man, would be phrensy in one who did not resemble him as well in the cheerfulness of his temper as in the sanctity of his manners." If such ill-timed witticisms would have betokened madness in a bad man, we should say that there is far more of folly than of "philosophy" in them, when uttered under such circumstances, even by a good man.—*Am. Ed.*

† Another touching incident relating to his daughter is thus given by Sir James Mackintosh. "The love of Margaret Roper continued to display itself in those outwardly unavailing tokens of tenderness to his remains, by which affection seeks to perpetuate itself; ineffectually, indeed, for its object, but very effectually for exalting the heart and softening the soul. She procured his head to be taken down from London Bridge, where more odious passions had struggled in pursuit of a species of infernal immortality by placing it. She kept it during her life as a sacred relic, and was buried with that object of fondness in her arms nine years after she was separated from her father."—*Am. Ed.*

a torrent of declamation against Henry, whom the historian Giovio compares for this deed to Phalaris. The emperor told Sir Thomas Elliot, the English ambassador, that he would rather have lost the best city in his dominions than such a counsellor. The English resident in Spain wrote that the greatest horror was felt there at the fate of the "thrice greatest" More and the holy maid of Kent: a union, by-the-way, which does no great credit to the former. Posterity have echoed these censures; and the judicial murder of More (as it certainly was) passes for one of the blackest deeds ever perpetrated.

Let us endeavour without prejudice to estimate the character of this eminent man. More was in private life the pattern of every social and domestic virtue; his piety was sincere and void of ostentation; and in integrity and firm adherence to the dictates of conscience, no man ever exceeded him. He was a good speaker, an elegant writer, and a well-read scholar; and his conversation abounded with innocent pleantry. Such were his merits. On the other hand, his jocularity frequently bordered on buffoonery;* his religion was akin to abject superstition; and he persecuted without remorse those who presumed to differ from what he considered the true church.† In his controversial writings he indulged in the grossest scurrility. His greatest work, the *Utopia*, has, we think, been well described as giving us "the impression of its having proceeded from a very ingenious rather than a profound mind;" and such, in fact, his mind was. Perhaps this is evinced also by the circumstance, that More alone, among the lay scholars of his time, seems to have had a sincere belief in the papal doctrine. To sum up his character, he was

* "I cannot tell," says Halle, "whether I should call him a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man; for undoubtedly he, besides his learning, had a great wit; but it was so mingled with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him that he thought nothing to be well spoken of except he had ministered some mock in the communication."

† See Appendix (H).

a devout, upright, sincere, amiable, learned, and ingenious man, good rather than great. What the poet says of Wolsey, that "his overthrow heaped happiness upon him," may be applied to More. If he had not died the victim of a tyrant, his fame would probably never have attained its present eminence.*

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY VIII. (CONTINUED).

1535-1538.

Visitation of Convents.—Death of Queen Catharine.—Trial and Execution of Queen Anne.—Risings of the Peasantry.—Death of Queen Jane.—Suppression of the Monasteries.—Reginald Pole.

WHEN intelligence of the deaths of More and Fisher reached Rome, the indignation of the pope and cardinals was boundless; and, on the 30th of August, a terrible denunciatory bull was prepared. By this, if Henry did not retrace his steps, he and all his abettors were cited to appear at Rome within ninety days, under pain of excommunication; he was to be dethroned, his subjects released from their allegiance, and his kingdom placed under interdict; the issue of Anne was declared illegitimate; all commerce with foreign states was forbidden, and all treaties with them annulled; the clergy were ordered also to depart from the kingdom, and the nobility to take arms against their king! Henry took every precaution to prevent the bull from getting into his dominions: he drew more closely the bonds of alliance with France, and

* For a somewhat different and still more favourable opinion of Sir Thomas More, and a full and highly interesting account of his trial and death, see Mackintosh's *History of England*, ii., 152, *et seq.*, Harpers' edition.

entered into relations with the German Protestants,* whose leading divines he invited over to England. The vacant dioceses of Salisbury, Worcester, St. Asaph, Hereford, and Rochester, were respectively conferred on Shaxton, Latimer, Barlow, Fox the almoner, and Hilsey, superior of the Black Friars in London: all professors of the reformed opinions.

The monks and friars, who saw their own ruin in the new state of things, were strongly opposed to the separation from Rome; and, both secretly and openly, excited the people against these changes. The suppression of at least a large number of their convents was resolved on: a measure of which Wolsey, with the pope's permission, had already given the example. The king, as head of the church, appointed Cromwell his vicar-general for visiting the religious corporations, with power to nominate his deputies; and in October, the visiters, armed with most ample inquisitorial powers, set out on their mission. They found, as was expected, feuds, factions, and disorders of every kind, and in several instances the grossest immorality; while pious frauds and false relics beguiled the credulity of the people. At the same time, many, especially the larger abbeys, were quite free from all gross irregularities. Some, terrified by a consciousness of guilt, made a voluntary surrender of their revenues; that of Langden setting the example. In all the convents of both sexes, the inmates under the age of four-and-twenty were set at liberty, if they desired it. Of this permission many victims of avarice and family pride took advantage: for here, as wherever monachism prevails, the younger children of a family were often compelled to take the vows, in order that the fortune of the eldest son might not be diminished. The report of the visiters was soon after published, and the crimes of the recluses were exposed, no doubt with some exaggeration. A feeling was thus excited against them; and when parliament met,

* They were so named from having "protested" against the decree of the Diet at Spires, in 1529, forbidding innovation in religion.

in February, 1536, an act was passed for suppressing all monasteries possessing less than £200 (\$960) a year, and giving their property and estates to the king. The number thus suppressed was three hundred and seventy-six; their annual income was £32,000 (\$154,000,) and their property was valued at £100,000 (\$480,000).* The universities also were visited, and the course of study in them was changed.

On the 8th of January, 1536, Queen Catharine breathed her last at Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before her death, she dictated a letter to the king, styling him "her most dear lord, king, and husband;" advising him to attend to his spiritual concerns, assuring him of her forgiveness, commending their daughter to his care, and making a few trifling requests. She thus concluded: "Lastly, I make this vow, that mine eyes have desired you above all things." Henry was moved even to tears with this last proof of the affection of one whom he had once loved, and whom he had never ceased to esteem. He gave orders that her funeral should be suited to her birth; but he would not permit her to be buried, as she desired, in a convent of the Observants; and the ashes of the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabel repose at Peterborough. Her character remains the object of respect to all parties, as that of an upright, pious, and virtuous matron; with the single drawback, in the estimation of the unprejudiced, that she persisted to her death in the assertion of a falsehood.

It could not be expected that Queen Anne should feel much grief at the death of one whom she must have regarded as a rival; but she might have abstained from an indecent expression of joy.† How shortsighted are mortals! She probably deemed her state now secure; yet she was standing on the brink of

* The number of monastic recluses ejected by the suppression of these institutions was estimated at between six and seven thousand, independent of their servants and retainers.—*Am. Ed.*

† "Anne Boleyn wore yellow for the mourning of Catharine of Aragon." (Halle, Sanders.)

the precipice over which she was ere long to be precipitated.

On the 29th of January Anne gave birth to a still-born male child; for which misfortune Henry, it is said, reproached her brutally. She had, in fact, lost his capricious affections; which, as in her own case, had been transferred to one of her attendants, Jane, the daughter of Sir John Seymour; and he was now on the look-out for a pretext to divorce his queen. Anne, who was aware of his passion for her maid, had reproached him with it on more than one occasion. The king's desire to frame a plausible charge against her was well known at court; and, as the sprightliness of the queen's temper bordered on levity, some little matters which resulted from it were reported to him with exaggeration, and by him greedily received. A commission was issued on the 25th of April, to several noblemen and judges (among whom was her own father), to investigate the affair. On May-day there was a tilting-match at Greenwich, before the king and queen, in which her brother, Lord Rochfort, and Norris, groom of the stole, were principal actors. In the midst of it something occurred which disturbed the king;* and he rose abruptly, quitted the gallery, and set off with a few attendants for Westminster. The queen also rose and retired to her apartments, where she remained in great anxiety. Next day she entered her barge and was proceeding to Westminster, when, on the river, she was met by her uncle the Duke of Norfolk, and some other lords of the council, and conducted to the Tower, on a charge of adultery and treason. She asserted her innocence in the strongest terms. At the gate of that fatal fortress she fell on her knees and said, "Oh Lord, help me, as I am guiltless of this whereof I am accused!" When the lords were gone, she said to the lieutenant, "Mr. Kingston, shall I go into a dungeon?" "No, madam," said he,

* The story of her dropping her handkerchief, and Norris taking it up and wiping his face with it, is told by Sanders, and is probably one of his inventions. Lingard quotes it without naming his authority.

“you shall go into your lodging that you lay in at your coronation.” “It is too good for me,” she replied; “Jesu, have mercy on me!” and she knelt down and wept, and then burst into laughter, the usual effect of hysterics: for such appears to have been the effect of her sudden misfortunes on her frame. Her aunt, Lady Boleyn, and Mrs. Cousins, with both of whom she was on ill terms, lay in the room with her, with directions to draw her into discourse, and to report all that she said.

Cranmer had been directed by the king to come to Lambeth, but not to approach the court. His constitutional timidity did not prevent him from making an effort for his lovely and unhappy patroness; and on the 6th he wrote a persuasive letter to Henry. On that same day Anne herself wrote to her hard-hearted lord that beautiful letter* which is still extant, every line of which breathes the consciousness of innocence and the purity of virtue:† but neither justice nor mercy had now any place in the heart of Henry.

At the same time with the queen were arrested her brother Lord Rochfort, and Norris, with Sir Francis Weston and William Brereton, gentlemen of the privy chamber, and Mark Smeaton, a musician, who had been made a groom of the chamber for his musical talents. On the 10th, an indictment was found by the grand jury at Westminster against the queen and the above mentioned for high treason; as, by a forced interpretation of the statute 25 Edw. III., the adultery with which they were all charged was made out to be. On the 12th, the four commoners were tried before a common jury, and found guilty. The three gentlemen affirmed the queen's innocence and their own; Smeaton pleaded guilty; probably having been induced so to do by some promise of mercy. When the king heard that Norris refused to

* See Appendix (I).

† Lingard denies the genuineness of this letter. Has he read, or does he despise the arguments of Mackintosh in its favour? ii., 164, 301, Harpers' edition.

confess, he cried, "Hang him up, then! hang him up, then!"

Three days after, on the 15th, the queen and her brother were tried in the hall of the Tower. Their uncle of Norfolk presided, and six-and-twenty other peers (among whom, it is to be feared, was their father*) sat in judgment. The queen had no counsel; she was only attended by her ladies, and her countenance was cheerful and serene. When directed to lay aside the insignia of her rank, she complied, saying that she had never misconducted herself towards the king. She readily answered all the charges made against her, and those not in the secret anticipated an acquittal; but a majority of the peers, on their honour, pronounced the brother and sister guilty of incestuous adultery; and she was sentenced to be burned or beheaded, at the king's pleasure. When she heard this sentence, she raised her hands and cried, "Oh Father and Creator! oh thou who art the way, the truth, and the life! thou knowest that I have not deserved this death." She then addressed her judges, and with dignity and calmness solemnly protested her innocence.† Rochfort was then tried. "There was brought against him as a witness," says Wyatt, "his wicked wife, accuser of her own husband, to the seeking of his blood." He made a noble defence, but to no purpose, for his destruction was resolved on.

And what, it may be asked, was the evidence on which a queen of England was thus sentenced to an ignominious death? Lady Wingfield, who had been in her service, was said, when on her death-bed, to have made some communications to some one; as if any one, when well paid, could not swear that anything

* "To whom were adjoined twenty-six other peers, and among them the queen's father."—Harleian MSS., No. 2194.

† "The records of her trial and conviction have perished," says Lingard, "perhaps by the hands of those who respected her memory." "Had he read Burnet with any care," observes Hallam, "he would have found that they were seen by that historian." In his last edition Lingard asserts that "we still possess the most important of the few documents seen by Burnet, and some others of which he was ignorant."

was said by a dead person. According to the disgusting language of the indictment, the queen was in every case the seducer. The act of criminality with Norris was placed in October, 1533 ; that with Breton in the following December ; with Weston in May, 1534 ; with Smeaton in April, 1535 ; and with her brother in the last November ;* and, although all remained in her service, no proof was offered of any repetitions of the offence. Such evidence would not for a moment be attended to at the present day by any honest jury.

On the 17th, Rochfort and the others were led to execution. Rochfort exhorted his companions to die with courage ; he warned the by-standers not to trust in courts, states, or kings, but in Heaven alone ; and he prayed for the king, that he might have a long and happy life. They all died protesting their innocence, except Smeaton, who was executed last, and may therefore still have had hopes of mercy. He said that he well deserved death ; but this might only mean that he had calumniated others. When the queen was told the next day what he had said, she indignantly exclaimed, " Has he not, then, cleared me from the public shame he has done me ? Alas ! I fear his soul will suffer from his false accusation."

An attempt, the true motive of which we cannot assign, to make the Earl of Northumberland acknowledge a precontract with the queen, having failed, the king and queen appeared by their proctors in the archiepiscopal court on the 17th ; and the unhappy primate (with anguish of heart we make no doubt) had to endure the mortification of pronouncing the marriage of his innocent friend utterly void, in consequence of certain just and legal impediments then confessed on her part.† Cranmer, who was appointed to be her confessor, had visited her the day before.‡ It was thought, even by herself, that she would only be banished ; but her tyrant would not be thus contented, and the fatal

* Turner, from the Birch MSS., 4293.

† Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii., 803.

‡ Kingston's *Letters in Cavendish*.

order came. All doubt and fear were now at an end. "I have seen," says Kingston, "many men and also women executed, and that they have been in great sorrow: to my knowledge, this lady hath more joy and pleasure in death." She reviewed her past life, and it appearing to her that she had been rather harsh in her treatment of the Lady Mary, she made Lady Kingston sit in her chair of state, and, kneeling before her, with tears expressed her sorrow and remorse, and made her promise that she would thus kneel before the princess and implore her forgiveness. "Mr. Kingston," said she, "I hear say I shall not die before noon, and I am very sorry therefor: I thought to be dead and past my pain." He told her "it would be no pain, it was so subtle." She replied, "I heard say the executioner was very good, and I have a *little neck*," and she put her hand about it, smiling.

Next day, the 19th, a little before noon, she was led to the scaffold, which was erected on the green within the Tower: all strangers were excluded. There were present the dukes of Suffolk and Richmond (the king's natural son), the chancellor, Secretary Cromwell, the lord-mayor and aldermen. She addressed her auditory in these words, probably suggested by Cranmer: "Good Christian people, I am come hither to die: for according to the law and by the law I am judged to die, and therefore I will speak nothing against it; I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak anything of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die; but I pray God to save the king and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler [nobler] nor more merciful prince was there never, and to me he was ever a good, gentle, and sovereign lord; and if any person will meddle with my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. Oh Lord, have mercy upon me! To God I commend my soul." Then calmly removing her hat and collar, she knelt down and said, "To Jesus Christ I commend my soul. Lord Jesu, receive my soul!" One stroke of the sword terminated her life. Her remains were

thrown into an elm box, and interred without ceremony in the chapel.*

Thus was completed this barbarous judicial murder, not to be paralleled in imperial Rome or the despotic East.† That no doubts might remain as to his real motives, Henry married Jane Seymour the very next day. The Lady Mary was now admitted to favour, on her signing articles acknowledging the king's supremacy and her own illegitimacy; but she honourably refused to give up the names of her friends and advisers, nor did the king insist on it. A parliament was summoned, which ratified all the late proceedings, and enacted whatever the king required.

In the convocation, where Cromwell presided as the king's representative, ten articles of faith were agreed on. It was an attempt to take a middle course between the two parties, and was therefore pleasing to neither.

The suppression of the monasteries, which was effected during this summer, caused great discontent among the people. The loss of the alms distributed at them was felt by the poor and the idle; the many associations of superstition, as well as piety, connected with them, had been harshly broken asunder; the prospect of the decay of these religious edifices, or their conversion into secular dwellings, was unpleas-

* It is affectingly stated, that her female attendants, "though fainting and drowned in tears, would not trust the remains of their beautiful and beloved mistress to the executioner and his brutal assistants. They washed away the blood which now made her face ghastly, and her fair form an object of horror."—*Am. Ed.*

† "It may be truly said," observes Mackintosh, "that Henry, as if he had intended to levy war against every various sort of natural virtue, proclaimed, by the executions of More and of Anne, that he henceforward bade defiance to compassion, affection, and veneration. A man without a good quality would perhaps be in the condition of a monster in the physical world, where distortion and deformity in every organ seem incompatible with life. But, in these two direful deeds, Henry perhaps approached as nearly to the ideal standard of perfect wickedness as the infirmities of human nature will allow."—See his *History of England*, ii., ch. vii., Harpers' edition.—*Am. Ed.*

ing; and, moreover, then, as at all times, the clergy had been the most lenient of landlords. The sight of the ejected brethren, many of them advanced in years, wandering about the country, moved the people to pity; and they were assured that this was only the first step towards depriving them of all religion, and subjecting them to an unheard-of tyranny.

These discontents fermenting in their bosoms through the summer, as soon as the harvest was completed, the peasantry of Lincolnshire assembled in arms, to the number of twenty thousand. Their leader was Dr. Mackrel, late prior of Barlings, who assumed the title of Captain Cobler. They sent to the king a statement of their grievances, which included all the late changes made in the church; and, complaining of the admission of low-born persons to the royal councils (meaning Cranmer and Cromwell), they prayed the king to assemble his nobility and devise remedies. The answer returned was the appearance of the Duke of Suffolk with a body of troops, preceded by a royal reproof of the presumption of "the rude commons of one shire, and that the most brute and beastly of the whole realm," in attempting to find fault with their prince for the electing of his counsellors and prelates; and commanding them to surrender their leaders and one hundred others, and then to go to their homes. By Suffolk's advice, however, a milder proclamation was afterward put forth, and the insurgents finally dispersed.

The cause of this mildness was the breaking out of a far more formidable insurrection in the counties north of the Humber, where the people were still more ignorant and superstitious than in the southern parts. The clergy had secretly instigated them; and the harsh collection of the subsidy granted by the late parliament afforded the occasion. The gentry, who shared their feelings, hesitated to risk their lives and fortunes by coming forward openly; but they found an efficient leader in one Robert Aske, a lawyer of some property in Yorkshire. The insurrection was named the Pilgrimage of Grace; priests, bearing

crosses, appeared in the van ; their banner displayed on one side the Redeemer, on the other the host and chalice ; and on the sleeve of every pilgrim were wrought the five wounds of Jesus, with his holy name in the midst of them. Aske first laid siege to Pontefract, in which the Archbishop of York and the Lord Darcy had taken refuge. The gates were opened through the influence of the prelate and peer, who secretly wished well to the insurgents ; and who, after a decent show of reluctance, took the oath by which the pilgrims were bound. York and Hull also surrendered ; and the castles of Skipton and Scarborough alone resisted.

The Earl of Shrewsbury, though without orders, raised his tenantry to oppose the rebels. The royal commands to levy troops were obeyed by the Marquis of Exeter and other nobles ; and at length the Duke of Norfolk, as general of the royal forces, advanced to Doncaster. His army, which did not exceed five thousand men, was divided from that of the rebels, of forty thousand, by the river Don, which could only be passed either by the bridge in the town or a ford at a little distance. The insurgents, relying on their numbers, resolved to attempt to force the passage of the ford ; but there fell so much rain in the night that it became impassable. The duke then sent a herald to Aske, who received him sitting in a chair of state, with the archbishop on one side, and Lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed that they should send two gentlemen to the king, to learn his pleasure. After being detained for some time, the deputies returned, with an offer of pardon to all but six who were then, and four who were afterward to be named. These terms were rejected, and new negotiations were opened, but to no effect. The rebels once more prepared to force the ford, and again the rains swelled the stream. Their superstitious minds saw in this a withdrawal from them of the favour of Heaven ; they accordingly began to despond and to disperse ; and the arrival of an act of amnesty caused them all to retire to their homes. Aske was invited

to court, where he was kindly treated; but Lord Darcy, who made some delay when summoned, was, on his arrival, cast into the Tower, as was also Lord Hussey, who was charged with having favoured the Lincolnshire rebels.

The people of the north were, however, soon again in arms, in 1537; and eight thousand men, headed by Nicholas Musgrave and Thomas Tilby, gentlemen of Cumberland, attempted to surprise Carlisle. They failed, however, and in their retreat they were met and defeated with great slaughter by the Duke of Norfolk. Musgrave escaped; but the other leaders were taken and hanged, with seventy inferior persons, on the walls of Carlisle. An attempt on Hull by Sir Francis Bigot and a Mr. Halem, had a similar result. Aske, who made his escape when he heard of the rising, was taken and hanged at York; and several other gentlemen were executed at different places. The venerable Lord Darcy was beheaded on Tower Hill, and Lord Hussey at Lincoln. Six priors, among whom was Mackrel, were hung for their share in the rebellion. In the month of July, a general amnesty was issued. One of the demands of the rebels was complied with: for a court was, by patent, erected at York for the decision of lawsuits in the north.

To the joy of the king and kingdom, on the 12th of October, Queen Jane gave birth to a son, who was named Edward; but, within a few days, that joy was damped by the death of the mother. The grief of the king was considerable; but it gave way to his satisfaction at the dangers of a disputed succession being now terminated. To the queen herself it may have been a fortunate event that nature, not the axe of injustice, terminated her mortal life: as a pretext would surely have been found for destroying her, if the despot's eye had been caught by some other object. The young prince was created Prince of Wales; his uncle, Sir William Seymour, earl of Hertford; Sir William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton; Sir William Paulet, Lord St. John; and Sir John Russell, Lord Russell.

Towards the close of the year, a book, entitled "The Godly and Pious Institute of a Christian Man," compiled by the bishops and revised by the king, was published by the royal authority. It was divided into sections, treating of the Creed, Sacraments, Decalogue, Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Justification, and Purgatory; and contained as much of the reformed opinions as Cranmer and his friends were able to introduce into it. This year was also signalized by the publication, with the royal sanction, of the Bible, translated into English by Tindale and Coverdale.*

The suppression of the remaining monasteries was now finally resolved on. Their wealth made them an object of cupidity to the king and his rapacious courtiers; the reformers viewed them as the strongholds of popery, which, they thought, could never be eradicated while they were suffered to remain; the convents of the north had openly aided the late rebellion; and those of the south had secretly furnished the rebels with money. The visitations were accordingly renewed, and threats and artifices were employed, frequently with success, to obtain surrenders. The recluses themselves, in anticipation of the coming storm, had been making preparations to meet it, by embezzling the moveable property of their convents to a great extent, and renewing the leases of their lands at low rents, on receiving large fines: so that they had often but little reluctance in giving up their monastic seclusion. Many of them, indeed, were even glad to escape from the irksome monotony of a

* The *New Testament* had been translated and published by John Wickliffe 150 years before; but it was speedily suppressed. The translation of the Bible by Tindale was published by him at Antwerp, and first circulated in England in 1526. The circulation of the sacred Scriptures in the vernacular tongue was deemed to be of vital importance by Cranmer; and it was through his efforts, aided by Cromwell, that Henry's consent to their publication was obtained. So great was the joy of Cranmer at this event, that, in a letter of thanks to Cromwell for his co-operation in bringing it about, he says, "This deed you shall hear of at the great day, when all things shall be opened and made manifest."—*Am. Ed.*

monastic life. Hence the crown met with but little opposition. Pensions, varying according to their rank and good conduct, were settled on the monks, till they should receive livings in the church of equal dignity and value.* The suppression was completed in the course of two years; and the annual income which thus fell to the crown amounted to more than £130,000 (\$624,000).

The abbots of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester were executed, on charges of having aided the northern rebels; the vices of others were made public; but the people remarked that these were the crimes of individuals, not of the order. It was then determined to expose the false relics and the "lying wonders" to be found in even the most respectable convents. Eleven houses, it was ascertained, possessed a girdle belonging to the Virgin; one exhibited some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; and the ear cut by the sword of St. Peter from the head of Malchus gave fame to one, as the parings of the toenails of St. Edmund did to another, in which also the penknife and boots of St. Thomas of Canterbury were believed to work miracles. The teeth of St. Apollonia, which cured the toothache, were so multiplied, that, when collected, they filled a tun. At Reading there was the wooden image of an angel, with but one wing, which was said to have flown into England with the spear-head that pierced our Saviour's side. The monastery at Hales, in Gloucestershire, had a vial declared to contain a portion of the Redeemer's blood, to behold which pilgrims flocked from all quarters. But the votary often looked in vain for the beatific vision;

* "The pensions to the superiors appear to have varied from 266*l.* (\$1276) to 6*l.* (\$29) per annum. The priors of cells received generally 13*l.* (\$62) a year; and a few, whose services merited the distinction, obtained 20*l.* (\$96). To the other monks were allotted pensions of 6*l.*, 4*l.*, 2*l.*, with a small sum to each one at his departure, to provide for his immediate wants. The pensions to nuns averaged about 4*l.*"—*Lingard*. He states that money was of about ten times the value then that it is now. In the last edition of his history he more correctly says "six or seven times."

and then his penitence, he was told, was incomplete, because he had not purchased enough of masses. More money was required to be paid, and at length, perhaps, his eyes were blessed with a sight of the mysterious blood. The secret was found to be, that the vial, which contained some blood obtained for the purpose, was opaque on one side, and was turned about by the priests to suit their purpose. At Boxley, in Kent, was the crucifix named the Rood of Grace; which moved its head, eyes, lips, &c., all being effected by secret cords and wires. These various impositions were exposed at St. Paul's, whither also were brought other idols from all parts of the country. Among them came a huge rood from Wales, named Darvel Gatheren, to which large offerings used to be made. An old prophecy had said that it should *burn a forest*; and, in cruel mockery, it was made to form part of the fire that consumed one friar Forest, who denied the supremacy.*

St. Thomas of Canterbury was proceeded against, and condemned as a traitor: his name was struck out of the calendar, his office expunged from the breviary, and his bones were taken up and burned. The scull was found with the rest, though the monks used to exhibit it to the pilgrims. His shrine was broken up; and the gold and jewels it contained filled two chests, which it required eight men to carry. There was a festival, called the translation of his body, celebrated every year; and a jubilee of fifteen days every fiftieth year, which drew a great concourse of pilgrims to Canterbury, one hundred thousand being known to have been there at one time. The offerings, therefore, were numerous; for the canonized saints, like Eastern kings, were not to be approached without a present.

While the evils and frauds of the monastic institutions were thus sedulously displayed, care was taken to persuade the nation that the transfers of their rev-

* We search the earlier editions of Lingard in vain for any allusion to these *pious* frauds. In his last edition he *does* allude to them.

venues to the crown would be productive of inestimable public benefits. There would be an end, they were assured, of pauperism and taxation; as the revenues which the crown would thus possess would enable it to maintain fleets and armies, build fortresses, execute public works, maintain the court, and form institutions for learning and charity, without applying any more to the purses of its subjects. Fortunately for the public liberties, these splendid anticipations, as we shall see, were never realized.

With respect to the legal and moral character of the transaction, there are many points to be considered. If the Reformation was to proceed, the monasteries must be destroyed, as they were the strongholds of the dominant superstition. Property no doubt is sacred, of whatever kind it may be, and should not be touched without the most urgent state-necessity, to which even the rights of private, and much more those of corporate property, must give way. In the latter case it is, however, a principle, that the rights of the actual possessors, and of those who have a reasonable certainty of succeeding them, should be regarded: hence it is said that the abolition should have been gradual; that the convents should have been prohibited to receive any more members; and that, as the actual members died off, the revenues should fall to the crown. But this would have been inconsistent with the success of the great object proposed, as the papal party would thus have retained for many years the means of checking the progress of the Reformation; and the claims of justice were perhaps sufficiently satisfied by giving pensions, as was done, to the members of the suppressed convents. Again, it is said that the monastic lands should have gone to the representatives of the original donors: but where were they to be found? Who could prove himself, for instance, to be the heir of the baron or knight who, in the reign of Henry I. or II., had given lands to a monastery for the good of his soul? Besides, such a right of reversion is hardly ever contemplated; and those who make grants or bequests of this kind

part with all rights over them, which thus become subject to the control of the legislature. Lastly, it is said that the entire of these revenues should have been devoted to the support of religion and learning: but a fifth of the lands of the kingdom was by far too much for this purpose, though we will not say that it might not have been better if tithes had been abolished, and lands to the same amount retained for the support of the church. Yet many difficulties would probably have attended this plan, and perhaps, under all the circumstances, none was preferable to the one which was adopted: that of sharing the lands among the nobility and gentry of the realm.*†

This is said to have been a suggestion of Cromwell's; who, aware of the selfishness of human nature, believed that the surest way to make the nobles and gentry adverse to Rome was to make it their interest to be so; and this effect was produced. One cannot, however, contemplate without disgust the unprincipled cupidity and rapacity of the vultures of the court (among whom were the founders of some of the noblest and wealthiest families now in the kingdom), or the reckless prodigality of the monarch himself; who, for example, set a peal of church bells on a cast of the dice; gave, it is said,‡ the revenues of a con-

* Latimer and other reformers pleaded in vain for the preservation of some of the convents. Hume justly thinks that many of the nunneries might have been retained as places of honourable retreat for single women. In vain did the gentry of the county plead for the blameless nunnery of Godstow, near Oxford; purity and innocence were no defence against the rapacity of the king and his courtiers.

† According to our notions, a far more equitable, as well as beneficial use of this vast landed property, would have been to sell it to the agricultural occupants of it, and thus created a numerous body of independent yeomanry; and to have employed the funds thus obtained in the education of the people, and for other purposes the most important and valuable to the state. Had this been done, though English nobles might have been less rich, the English people would have been far more enlightened; nor would they have been at this day without a system of national education.

—*Am. Ed.*

‡ Only, we believe, by Sanders.

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vent to a woman who made a pudding to suit his palate; and those of another to the man who set his chair in a position that pleased him before the fire. Some of the abbey lands were bestowed on the courtiers; others were sold or exchanged at such low rates as to differ little from gifts; and, after all the magnificent prospects that had been held out, parliament was called upon in 1540, the very year after it had vested the monastic property in the king, for a large subsidy, on account of the great expense of reforming the religion of the state; so completely had the voracious courtiers carried off the spoils.*

When we view the ruins of Fountains and other magnificent piles, the glory of architecture and pride of the island, it is impossible to suppress a sigh at such Vandalic devastation as was then committed, or to avoid wishing that more of these stately edifices had been preserved, and a portion of their revenues appropriated to their maintenance. But the very lead with which they were roofed sufficed to attract the royal cupidity. The abbot's house and offices were left standing, for the use of the grantee or purchaser; but the church and all the other buildings were stripped, and suffered to go to ruin. The destruction of books, too, was lamentable: the convent library was always given in with the bargain to the person who obtained the house and lands. The books were torn up for the most trifling purposes, or sold to the shopkeepers; while whole shiploads of vellum manuscripts were sent over sea for the use of the bookbinders. We are told by a contemporary, that one tradesman purchased two libraries for forty shillings; and that the contents had lasted him in his business for ten years, and were likely to last him as much longer. Great loss has thus been sustained by English history, and perhaps by classical literature.

Another act of injustice perpetrated at this time

By this last and his former confiscations, it is supposed that Henry changed the possession of nearly one fourth of the whole landed property of the kingdom; so vast had been the possessions in the hands of the religious orders.—*Am. Ed.*

was in the case of the impropriated tithes.* The regular clergy had gradually contrived to deprive the secular clergy of their tithes, to the amount of two fifths of the whole, appointing vicars with paltry stipends to do the duty.† In all justice, these should have reverted to their original destination; but they shared the fate of the other monastic revenues, and went, where they still remain, into the possession of laymen.‡ The more, in fact, we view the mode in which this secularization of monastic property was effected, the more we are disgusted with the scandalous rapacity of those who were the principal gainers; for their subsequent conduct proved that religion had nothing to do with it,

* Tithes once paid to the clergy, but afterward secularized, or diverted to the possession and use of the laity.—*Am. Ed.*

† The monastic orders were styled the regular clergy, because they had taken a vow to live according to certain prescribed *regulæ* or rules, enjoining celibacy, retirement, poverty, &c., to distinguish them from the secular clergy; so called from their being permitted to live after the manner of the world, and not being subject to these rules.—*Am. Ed.*

‡ The system of tithes, or the support of religious institutions and the clergy by taking a tenth of the products of the land for that object, is derived from the theocratic polity of the Jews. It is declared in the law by Moses, that “the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of the land or of the fruit of the tree, is the Lord’s: it is holy unto the Lord. And concerning the tithe of the herd or of the flock, the tenth shall be holy unto the Lord.”—Num. xxvii., 30, 32. This system, however, was not introduced into the Christian Church until several centuries after its establishment. In its first and purest periods it was sustained by the voluntary contributions of the people. The payment of tithes appears not to have been canonically enjoined in France until near the close of the sixth century. That this tax was highly obnoxious to the people, even in those times of superstitious obedience to the mandates of ecclesiastical power, is evident from the circumstance that, from the sixth to the eighth century, it was made a constant topic of discourse in the sermons of the clergy. The payment of tithes, as being civilly binding, was first recognised by a statute of Charlemagne, in the beginning of the ninth century. Tithes were abolished in France at the commencement of the revolution; and the clergy of all denominations in that country are now supported out of the revenues of the state. There is no more fruitful source of popular discontent in England than the pertinacious adherence to this impolitic, unequal, and therefore inequitable mode of sustaining the institutions of religion.—*Am. Ed.*

since, when a popish sovereign afterward mounted the throne, they readily returned to the ancient superstition on being secured in their lands. It certainly ill becomes the descendants of these men to look with contempt on the possessors of estates acquired by ability, prudence, and honourable diligence.

In order to fulfil some part of the magnificent promises which had been made, Henry erected and slenderly endowed five new bishoprics. He completed Christ Church College at Oxford, and King's College at Cambridge, where he also founded Trinity College. A few grammar schools and hospitals were also established, and some money was laid out in public works.

When the intelligence of the suppression of the monasteries reached the Vatican, it excited the most unbounded indignation. Proscriptive publications without number appeared at Rome, in which the impiety of the King of England was described as surpassing that of all the tyrants in history, sacred or profane: Julian alone was a parallel, as, like him, he was learned, and a persecutor of the church he had left. Finally, the bull which had been prepared three years before, but had only been held over him *in terrorem*, was now issued, and all hopes of an accommodation were thus terminated.

One of the most active agents in the cause of the papacy at this time was a member of the blood-royal of England. Reginald Pole was the fourth son of Margaret countess of Salisbury, the daughter of George duke of Clarence, and was, therefore, first cousin of Henry's mother. Henry had always treated this his young kinsman with the greatest affection; and, as he designed to enter the church, and had a turn for literature, he supplied him with ample means for pursuing his studies, both at home and at Padua. In the affair of the divorce, Pole's opinion was adverse to the king's wishes; and he had the manliness, in spite of the entreaties of his family to the contrary, to state to him, both orally and in writing, his reasons against it. This Henry took in good part; and, at his request, allowed him to return to

Padua. He was residing there when Henry was declared to be the supreme head of the English Church; the books which Gardiner and Sampson wrote on this occasion were transmitted to him; and Pole, who was now wholly devoted to the papacy, determined to answer them. Early in the following year he composed his work "*Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis Defensione*," addressed to his benefactor, and assailing him with the utmost virulence. This work was communicated, as he wrote it, to two of his Italian friends and to the pope, by whose permission it was read by some other persons. His friends advised him, in vain, to soften the personalities. All this time, we may observe, Pole was receiving his pension from his royal kinsman, and continued making professions of his intentions to serve him. In May of the next year he sent his book to Henry, by whom it was received just four days after his murder of Anne Boleyn. The king contented himself with directing his prelates to draw up a refutation of the assertions which it set forth. A second edition of Gardiner's book, "*De Vera Obedientia*," was now published; to which Bonner affixed a preface, in which the pope was abused in the most virulent terms. At the same time, the king invited Pole to come over to explain some parts of his book; but he was not to be thus caught, and was therefore deprived of his dignities and pensions.

In the winter Pole went to Rome by the invitation of the pope, who offered him a cardinal's hat:* this honour, however, he declined, and his objections satisfied the pontiff. But the imperial party had particular reasons for wishing him to be invested with this dignity; the papal orders, which, on his own princi-

* The peculiar kind of hat worn by the cardinals, indicative of their office. These ecclesiastical dignitaries constitute what is styled the "Sacred College," are the advisers of the pope, and, in subordination to him, the appointed governors of the Romish Church. Whenever the papal chair is vacated, they elect from their own body one to fill it. They are seventy in number, viz., six bishops, fifty priests, and seventeen deacons, and are chosen by the pope. - *Am. Ed.*

ples, he could not disobey, were accordingly sent to him; and on the 22d of December, 1537, he, with an unwilling heart, became a member of the "Sacred College."

There is something remarkable in Pole's strong repugnance to accept the highest dignity the pontiff could bestow, and in the efforts of the imperial ministers to have it forced upon him. Is it not possible that Pole secretly aspired to the hand of the Princess Mary and the throne of England? The princess had been committed to the care of his mother, the Countess of Salisbury; and Pole's friend and biographer, Beccatelli, tells us that Queen Catharine, on whose conscience the murder of the innocent Earl of Warwick (which had been committed to secure the succession to her offspring) weighed heavily, had projected with the countess, Warwick's sister, that, by way of reparation, one of her sons should marry the princess, and thus obtain the throne. Pole was one of the youngest of these sons; and he was, moreover, Mary's favourite. The same biographer actually assigns this as a reason why the imperial ministers were so eager to have him made a cardinal. One of the charges preferred against his relations in 1539, was that of having devised to "maintain, promote, and advance" him, and to deprive the king. In 1540, Damiano à Goes, writing to Pole, says of him, "Whom, if there be any truth in my auguries, we shall yet see King of England;" and Pole, in his reply, does not absolutely reject the augury. Finally, when Mary mounted the throne, her marriage with Pole was in contemplation, and might have taken place but for his advanced age and infirmities, and the arts of the emperor.*

Be this, however, as it may, Pole was now a member of the "sacred college;" and when the intelligence of the risings in England had reached the Vatican, the office of legate beyond the Alps was conferred on him, and he was directed to proceed to Flan-

* See Turner's History of England, x., 420.

ders, to be at hand to foment the rebellion. On reaching Lyons he heard of its suppression, and of his being proclaimed a traitor by Henry, who had set a reward of 50,000 crowns on his head. Although the King of France would not surrender him, he would not admit him to his presence; the queen-regent of the Netherlands acted in a similar manner; and he was obliged to fix his abode at Liège, whence, after a stay of three months, he returned to Rome: for, though he had opened communications with the disaffected, he found that nothing could be accomplished. He now remained for a year in Italy; and, at the close of it, in November, 1538, he was sent as legate to Spain, to try to excite the emperor to a crusade against his country. He, however, met with but a cool reception, and seems to have come to the conclusion that the papacy had, in reality, more to apprehend from Charles than from Henry.

The cardinal, being out of Henry's reach, might pursue his treasonable course in safety, but he thereby drew the monarch's vengeance on his family. During his mission to Spain, viz., on the 3d of November, his brother Lord Montague, Courtenay marquis of Exeter, and Sir Edward Neville, were committed to the Tower on a charge of treason. The last day of the year, the two peers were arraigned on a charge of devising to maintain and advance one Reginald Pole, the king's enemy, beyond the seas, and to deprive the king of his royal state and dignity. The chief witness against them was Sir Geoffrey Pole; who, having been arrested on some other charge, had attempted suicide; and, having failed in his attempt, in remorse (probably the result of weakness caused by loss of blood) had revealed the treason of his family. They were found guilty and executed; as, three days after, were also Neville, two priests, and a sailor. Sir Geoffrey was tried and convicted with these last; but his life was spared on account of his services, and he was pardoned in the next reign. About three months later, Sir Nicholas Carew, master of the horse, was convicted and executed as an accomplice

of the marquis. Though conviction in this reign is no certain proof of guilt, there seems to be little reason to doubt of the reality of this conspiracy.*

CHAPTER V.

HENRY VIII. (CONTINUED).

1538-1547.

Burning of Lambert.—Act of Six Articles.—King's Marriage with Anne of Cleves.—His Divorce.—Execution of Cromwell.—Catharine Howard.—War with France and Scotland.—Conspiracy against Cranmer.—Anne Askew.—Attempt to injure the Queen.—Execution of Lord Surrey.—Death of the King.—His Character.

WHILE Henry was thus warring with the papacy on points of authority, he was strenuous in maintaining its most objectionable doctrines, and another victim was at this time offered to that of the real presence. This was a man named Lambert, who had adopted the view of Zuinglius, that the eucharist was merely commemorative. Hearing one day, in 1538, Dr. Taylor preach on the subject of transubstantiation, he went to him and offered to argue the matter. Taylor, pleading want of leisure, desired him to put his thoughts in writing. Lambert was so incautious as to do so. Taylor showed the paper to Dr. Barnes, who, like himself, held the reformed opinions, but still believed in the real presence; and Barnes advised him to proceed against Lambert for heresy in the archiepiscopal court. On the trial Lambert appealed to the king, to whom Gardiner suggested that this was a good opportunity for clearing himself from the

* Sir James Mackintosh discredits the reality of this conspiracy, and considers it highly improbable that Exeter should have conspired to elevate Pole to the throne of England, when his own title to that dignity was the best of the two.—*Am. Ed.*

charge of encouraging heresy. Westminster Hall was accordingly prepared; and the nobles were summoned from all parts. The king took his seat, with the bishops on his right and the temporal peers on his left: the hall was filled with spectators; and the prisoner came, surrounded by armed men. Bishop Sampson having made a speech, the king put a few questions to the prisoner in a haughty tone. Cranmer, Gardiner, Tunstall, Stokesly, and six other bishops then argued successively with him. He became exhausted: the king demanded of him whether he would live or die; and he said he threw himself wholly on the royal mercy. Henry replied that he had no mercy for heretics. Lambert persisted in his opinion, and Cromwell, by the royal order, read the sentence of death.* He was burned on the 20th of November, at Smithfield, and two Dutch Anabaptists suffered also in the same place about this time.

It was, as we may have observed, the practice of Henry to carry all his measures under the form of law; and, indeed, he found parliaments so very compliant, that it would have been mere folly and wantonness in him to have pursued any other course. The parliament met on the 28th of April, 1539; and its acts perfectly accorded with the royal wishes.

An act of attainder against the Marquis of Exeter, and those executed with him, was easily obtained; but the king wished to extend his vengeance to the whole of the cardinal's family. Cromwell was therefore directed to ask the judges whether a person might not be attainted without trial or confession.

* "It was wonderful," writes Cromwell, "to see how princely, with how excellent gravity and inestimable majesty, his highness exercised there the very office of supreme head of the Church of England; how benignly his grace assayed to convert the miserable man; how strong and manifest reasons his highness alleged against him. I wish the princes and potentates of Europe to have had a meet place to have seen it."—Collier, ii., 152.†

† To what depths of degradation men are capable of descending—thus to load this remorseless, sanguinary tyrant with such fulsome, lying flattery!—*Am. Ed.*

They replied that, though such a thing might be done by the lower courts, a sentence passed by the high court of parliament would be good in law. This was enough: Pole's mother the venerable Countess of Salisbury, his nephew the son of Lord Montague, the Marchioness of Exeter, Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Sir Thomas Dingley, were all included in a bill of attainder, and, as it would seem, without any proof; yet the two knights were executed, while the countess was reprieved, and the marchioness only was pardoned.

An act was passed confirming the surrender of the monasteries. By another, a formal surrender of the national liberties was made; for the legislature gave to the king's proclamation the force of statutes of parliament.

But the great measure of this parliament was that respecting religious doctrines. As soon as it met, a commission was appointed, consisting of Cromwell, the two archbishops, and the bishops of Durham, Bath, Ely, Bangor, Carlisle, and Worcester, to prepare such articles of doctrine as might put an end to religious controversy. But, since the two parties were nearly equal in the committee, there was no rational chance of their agreement. On the 16th of May, therefore, the Duke of Norfolk proposed six questions to the house, as necessary to be previously determined. Cranmer and his friends argued them vigorously on the reformed side; while the opposite view was supported by Lee, Tunstall, and the Romish party. On the second day Henry himself came down to the house; and his presence, aided probably by his words, silenced all opposition. Parliament was prorogued on the 24th; and, when it met again on the 30th, each party was required, in the king's name, to prepare a bill against the following Sunday. That of the Romish party received the royal approbation; the lords were directed to discuss it; and the Act of the Six Articles, "the bloody statute," or "whip with six strings," as it was commonly called, was passed on the 10th of June.

These articles were as follows: 1. The natural body of Christ is present in the eucharist under the forms, but without the substance, of bread and wine; 2. Communion in both kinds is not necessary; 3. Priests may not marry; 4. Vows of chastity are to be kept; 5. Private masses should be retained; 6. Auricular confession is expedient and necessary. The penalty of opposing the first was death without mercy,* and the violation of the others was to be punished as felony. "Such," says Lingard, "were the enactments of this severe and barbarous statute." Latimer and Shaxton immediately resigned their sees, and were both committed to the Tower. Numbers of other clergymen were cast into prison for having spoken against the Romish doctrines. But it is extraordinary to remark Henry's steadiness to Cranmer: he assured him of his constant friendship; and, at his desire, the lords of parliament were entertained by him at Lambeth. The primate, however, bent before the storm, and sent his wife and children to Germany.

Henry was now in the second year of his widowhood; but, during the whole of this time, he had been engaged in matrimonial treaties. The first was with the emperor, for his niece, the Duchess-dowager of Milan, daughter of the King of Denmark; but this was broken off, and Henry turned his views to France. It has generally been observed, that in love people affect their opposites; but in Henry's eyes it seemed fitting that his wife should be of large dimensions, to suit his own corpulence. He fixed his fancy on the Duchess-dowager of Longueville, daughter of the Duke of Guise; but she was already contracted to the King of Scots; and Francis, refusing, at Henry's solicitation, to break off the match, sent her to Scotland. He offered him, however, Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vendôme; but, as Henry heard that the Scot-

* No atonement whatever, not even the most humble and sincere recantation, was admitted for the denial of this article; an instance of barbarous severity unparalleled by anything even in the bloodstained records of the Inquisition.—*Am. Ed.*

tish king had refused her, he would not listen to this proposal. Francis then offered him his choice of the sisters of the Queen of Scots, who fully equalled her in size. Henry proposed that they should have a conference at Calais, to which Francis should bring the finest ladies of his court; but the delicacy of the French monarch would not allow him to treat the ladies of France as he said men treated nags at a fair, where they were trotted out, that the purchaser might choose. The negotiations, therefore, were broken off.

Henry now turned his thoughts to an alliance with one of the Protestant princes of Germany; and Cromwell proposed to him Anne, daughter of the Duke of Cleves. A picture of her by Hans Holbein having satisfied him of her beauty, he made his proposals, which were accepted; and the princess was sent over to England. She landed on the last day of the year at Dover. On Newyear's day, 1540, she reached Rochester, whither the king's impatience had brought him to meet her. Great, however, was his consternation when he beheld her! Tall she was, and large also; but her features were coarse, her manners ungraceful, and she spoke only her native German. As he had viewed her unseen, he had time to compose himself before he was announced. She knelt; and he raised her and kissed her cheek; but he could not prevail on himself to deliver the presents which he had brought. He retired to consult with his friends, to whom he swore that "they had brought him a great Flanders mare." Next morning he rode back in melancholy mood to Greenwich. He there directed Cromwell to devise some mode of breaking off the marriage; but none could be found; and there was danger of offending the Protestant princes. "There is no remedy, then," said the king, in a sorrowful tone; "I *must* put my neck into the yoke." The marriage ceremony was performed by Cranmer on the 6th of January; but the bride could make no progress in gaining the affections of her capricious lord.

Within his heart Henry had determined on divorcing his queen and destroying Cromwell, whom he regarded as the author of his calamity. Yet never, apparently, was Cromwell higher in his favour. He had made him knight of the garter, and lord great chamberlain: an office hereditary in the family of Vere, earls of Oxford; and on the 14th of April, the second day after the meeting of parliament, which Cromwell had opened as usual, he received the earldom of Essex, which had just become extinct, and the estates belonging to it. But his enemies were numerous: the ancient nobility hated him as an upstart; the people regarded him as the cause of the high taxation; the Romish party viewed him with abhorrence, on account of the dissolution of the monasteries; and the reformers blamed him for suffering the act of the Six Articles to pass. It seems, too, that the party opposed to him, and the queen, adopted the same tactics that had been employed against Catharine and Wolsey. At a dinner given to the king by Gardiner, one of the company was Catharine Howard, niece of the Duke of Norfolk: a young lady small in person, and not remarkably handsome, but extremely agreeable in manners. She contrasted favourably with the coarse Anne of Cleves, and her conquest of the royal heart was immediate. The king's hatred for Cromwell was thereby augmented; and, by his directions, on the 10th of June the Duke of Norfolk arrested the minister at the council-board as a traitor. The iniquitous mode of proceeding by attainder,* which he himself had been the instrument of introducing the last year, was adopted. He was charged with encroaching on the royal authority in divers ways; with holding and favouring heretical opinions; and with declaring that he would fight, even against the king, in defence of them. Cranmer alone proved faithful to the fallen minister: he wrote to the king in his favour, but it availed him naught. The bill was rapidly

* By this most unjust process, the person accused was tried and convicted wholly on ex-parte evidence, without being permitted to make the smallest defence.—*Am. Ed.*

passed through the lords;* and though in the commons it met with some opposition, it was finally carried.

The great object, the divorce of the queen, was now speedily proceeded with. She was sent to Richmond, for the benefit of the air as it was pretended; and, while there, on the 25th of June, she was waited on by the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Southampton, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley, and acquainted with the king's intention of divorcing her, on the ground of an alleged precontract with the Duke of Lorraine. Apathetic as she was, she fainted at the intelligence. When she recovered, she was prevailed on to consent to refer the matter to the clergy, to relinquish the title of queen, and, in lieu thereof, to accept that of the king's adopted sister. She also consented to write a letter to him to this effect, and another to her brother, acknowledging the justice of the whole proceeding; and she farther engaged to show all the letters she might receive from her family.

In the mean time, a very pretty farce was enacted by the legislature. A member of the upper house rose, and, having lamented the hard fate of his majesty, in being bound to a wife who had been affianced to another, and the dishonour thereby brought on him and the country, moved that he should be petitioned to refer his case to the consideration of the clergy. The motion was agreed to; the commons were equally alive to the interests of the king and nation; the joint address was most graciously received; the case was submitted to the convocation† on the 5th of July; Gardiner expatiated on the causes which urged the

* It is a subject of regret to find the name of Cranmer in the list of those who voted for the attainder.

† A convocation was an assembly of the clergy, called together to deliberate on such matters as might be submitted to them of an ecclesiastical nature. These assemblies were held during the sitting of parliament; and, like that body, were divided into an upper and lower house, meeting and acting separately; the former being composed of the archbishops and bishops, and the latter of delegates representing the other clerical orders. They have been for a length of time in disuse in England.—*Am. Ed*

king to seek their interference; and a committee, composed of the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, and Worcester, and seven of the inferior clergy, was appointed to receive and report on the evidence. The marriage was declared to be null and void, inasmuch as the precontract, it was alleged, had not been satisfactorily explained; as the king did not and could not consummate it; as it would be for the public good were he to marry again, &c.; in short, inasmuch as Henry disliked his wife, and wanted to marry another, and as his divines were most obsequious to his wishes. Parliament confirmed this sentence, and made it high treason to question it. The palace of Richmond and £3000 (\$14,400) a year, with precedence of all save the queen and the king's children, consoled Anne for the loss of a capricious husband. She had spirit enough to refuse to return to Germany; and she died about sixteen years after this, in the reign of Queen Mary.

Henry had never been known to forgive; and Norfolk and the other enemies of Cromwell were now high in his favour. It was therefore in vain that the fallen favourite wrote in such piteous terms, imploring mercy, as even drew tears from the despot's eyes: no mercy was in store for him. The warrant for his execution was sent; and, on the 28th of July, he was beheaded on Tower Hill. Aware of the king's temper, and actuated by affection for his son, he acted like Anne Boleyn, and made no assertion of his innocence. He said he was by law condemned to die, and thanked God for bringing him to that death for his offences. He acknowledged his sins against God, and his offences against his prince, who had raised him from a base degree. He died, he said, in the Catholic faith, not doubting of any article of faith, or of any sacrament of the church; and he had not been a supporter of those who held ill opinions, but had been seduced, and now died in the Catholic faith;* and he

* "Meaning, probably," says Lingard, "that faith which was now established by law."

desired those present to pray for the king, the prince, and himself. He then prayed for the remission of his sins, and admittance into heaven ; and, giving the sign, his head was cut off in a bungling, barbarous manner.

Two days only had elapsed after the death of Cromwell, when the rekindling of the fires of Smithfield taught the reformers their loss in him. The victims were Dr. Barnes, and two clergymen named Jerome and Gerard ; their offence was preaching the doctrine of justification by faith only ; and their persecutor was Gardiner. As they could not be brought within the Six Articles, the convenient mode of attainder was employed, and they were sentenced to be burned as heretics. At the same time, three of the other party, Abel, Power, and Featherstone, were attainted for denying the supremacy. To prove the king's thorough impartiality, they were drawn on hurdles, one of either party on each hurdle, to the place of execution, where the Reformers were burned as heretics, and the Romanists hanged and quartered as traitors.

On the 8th of August Catharine Howard was introduced at court as queen, and the Romish party now viewed their triumph as complete ; for Catharine, according to the lords of the council, had entirely won the king's heart by " a notable appearance of honour, cleanness, and maidenly behaviour."

In the following month of April, 1541, the people of the northern counties were again in arms against the government. The cause was probably religion, and the leader was Sir John Neville ; but the insurrection was speedily suppressed, and Neville and some others were executed at York. Whether it were that her son, the cardinal, had instigated it, or that she had herself given some offence, or from mere wantonness of barbarity, Henry, on the 27th of May, gave orders for the execution of the Countess of Salisbury. The venerable matron of seventy-two years, when placed on the scaffold, refused to lay her head on the block, saying, " So should traitors do, and I am none : " she

added, that, if the executioner would have her head, he must take it by force. When held down, she still kept moving it, and he was thus, says Herbert, "constrained to fetch it off slovenly."

When the insurrection in the north was quelled, Henry made a progress thither in person, in order to quiet the minds of the people. He had also in view a personal meeting with his nephew, the King of Scots, in whose realm the Reformation had likewise commenced, and whom he was urging to follow his example in seizing the property of the church. But his queen and the clergy had too much influence over the mind of James; and he sent to excuse himself to his royal uncle, who was now at York. Henry, breathing vengeance, returned to London, where a trial he little anticipated now awaited him.

On Allhallows day, the king, it is said, "gave most hearty thanks for the good life he led, and trusted to lead, with his wife;" and even requested his confessor, the Bishop of London, to join with him in prayer and thanksgiving. The next day, after mass, Cranmer put into his hand a written statement of charges against his supposed immaculate consort.

It seems that, while the king was in the north, a man named Lascelles had waited on the primate, and told him that, having been down to Sussex to see his sister (formerly in the service of the old Duchess of Norfolk, who had brought the queen up), he had advised her to apply for the situation of one of her women; but she replied that she would not, as the queen was "of light living and conditions." She then went on to state certain particulars with regard to one Francis Derham, and a man named Mannock, formerly servants of the duchess, which deeply implicated the queen's character. The archbishop, on hearing this, was in great perplexity; and he deemed it his wisest course to communicate it to the Chancellor Audley and the Earl of Hertford; and these, after maturely weighing the matter, decided that he should inform the king. Henry was thunderstruck at the information, which he asserted was forged. He, how-

ever, summoned the lord privy seal, the lord admiral, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley, and directed that inquiry should be made.

The lord privy seal examined Lascelles; and, when he was found to persist in his statement, the same nobleman went into Sussex, under pretence of hunting, and thus contrived to have an interview with Lascelles' sister, who confirmed the statement of her brother. Wriothesley, in the mean time, arrested the serving-men; and they both confessed to the charges of criminality alleged against them. When this was all laid before the king, his rugged nature gave way; and, after a long silence, he burst into a copious flood of tears. The primate, the chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, the lord-chamberlain, and the Bishop of Winchester, were sent to examine the queen. She at first stoutly denied everything; but, being pressed by the weight of evidence, she made that night a full confession to the primate, and put her subscription to it. She acknowledged her errors before marriage, but asserted that she had been faithful to the king. This latter, however, seems to have been disproved by certain discoveries which were made in relation to Derham, an individual named Culpepper, and Lady Rochfort.

Culpepper and Derham, it is said, both pleaded guilty when they were arraigned; the former was beheaded on the 30th of November, and the latter hanged on the 10th of the following month. The old Duchess of Norfolk, Lord William Howard the queen's uncle, his wife, and several other persons, were charged with misprision of treason for not revealing her guilt, and were sentenced to imprisonment for life. When the parliament met in January, 1542, bills of attainder against the queen, Lady Rochfort, and all the above-named persons, were rapidly passed. On the 13th of February, the queen and Lady Rochfort were beheaded within the Tower. They expressed great contrition for their sins, but the queen persisted in affirming that she had never been faithless to her husband. Neither, however, was much pitied. It was well re-

membered that Lady Rochfort had been a principal agent in the murder of her husband, and of his sister, Anne Boleyn.

In the convocation this year, great complaints were made by the Romish party of the inaccuracy of Tindale's and other translations of the Bible; and a new version was projected, in which Gardiner artfully proposed to retain about one hundred Latin words, the true meaning and force of which, he said, the English language was unable to express. Cranmer, however, saw through the artifice, and the project fell to the ground.

Many years had elapsed since the English nation had been engaged in foreign war; but hostilities were now about to commence with both Scotland and France. In consequence of the insult offered him, as he conceived, by his nephew of Scotland, Henry ordered the Duke of Norfolk to raise an army and to invade that kingdom. The duke crossed the Tweed with twenty thousand men, and advanced along it to Kelso; but he recrossed the river at that place, and returned to England. King James, who had assembled an army, proposed to his nobles an inroad into England: they, however, refused; and a body of ten thousand men, whom he sent into England by Solway Frith, took panic and fled at the appearance of a party of but five hundred English, leaving several men of rank captives in their hands. James fell sink from chagrin, and died just as he had learned the birth of his first child, a daughter. Henry, on hearing of this event, proposed to his prisoners and some other Scottish nobles a match between his son Edward and the infant princess, and he gave them their liberty on condition of their aiding him to effect it. But Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, whom the pope had made a cardinal, had forged a will, by which the king left the regency to himself and three other noblemen during the minority. He was the head of the Romish party, and the queen-dowager joined interest with him. On the other hand, the Earl of Arran was the nearest akin to the young queen, and he was support-

ed by the Reformers. The cardinal's forgery being suspected, he was deprived of the regency and put into confinement ; but he soon obtained his liberty ; and, by appealing to the national and religious prejudices of the people, he turned them completely against the English match, and, in 1543, triumphed over his rival.

As the King of France had favoured the party hostile to his interests in Scotland, Henry now listened to the overtures of the emperor, and entered into a league with him against France. The Romish party in England were much elated ; but the Reformers gained, perhaps, a more than countervailing advantage in the king's marriage, which took place on the 12th of July, with Catharine Parr, the widow of Lord Latimer, who inclined to the new opinions.

Henry crossed the sea on the 14th of July of the following year, 1544, with his principal nobility, and a gallant army of thirty thousand men. He was joined by fifteen thousand Imperialists ; but, instead of marching directly to Paris, as good policy and the desires of his ally required, he laid siege to Boulogne and Montreal, because Charles had taken some towns and was besieging St. Dizier. The King of France, in alarm, made proposals of peace to the emperor, which were at once accepted ; and Henry, now, as ever, the dupe of his ally, having taken and garrisoned Boulogne, raised the siege of Montreal, and on the 30th of September returned home. The war with France and Scotland was continued through the following year, but in a languid manner, and it was terminated by a peace in 1546.*

* The English and Scots had long entertained the most inveterate national hatred towards each other, and their wars were of the most ferocious and devastating character. During the contest here spoken of, the Earl of Hertford was sent on a hostile expedition into Scotland ; and we extract the following, that the reader may judge of the bitterness of that animosity which could prompt to such deliberate and monstrous cruelty : "*The Lords of the Council, to the Earl of Hertford, Lieutenant in Scotland, April 10, 1544.*—You are to put all to fire and sword, burn Edinburgh town, so used and defaced, that when you have gotten what you can of

In the year 1543 a new exposition of faith and morals was put forth, under the title of "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudicion for any Christian Man," but it was commonly called "The King's Book." Like the "Institution" on which it was founded, it was of a motley character; with too much of the old faith to content the Reformers, and too much of the new to please the Romanists. In the next parliament, in 1544, Cranmer succeeded in obtaining a mitigation of the provisions of the "Act of Six Articles."

The cause of the Reformers lost in 1545 two of its most powerful supporters, in the persons of the Duke of Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law, and the Lord-chancellor Audeley, who both died in this year; and Audeley's successor, Wriothesley (now ennobled), sided strongly with the opposite party. It was not long before an attempt was made to ruin Cranmer. The king was informed "that the primate, with his learned men, had so infected the whole realm with unsavoury doctrine, as to fill all places with abominable heretics," and that the throne was in danger. Henry asked how it were best to proceed, and was

it, it may remain for ever a perpetual memory of the vengeance of God lightened upon it for their falshood and disloyalty. Sack all the houses, and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye may conveniently. Sack Leith, and subvert it, and all the rest, putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword, without exception, when any resistance shall be made against you; and this done, pass over to the Fifeland, and extend like extremities and destruction to all towns and villages whereunto you may reach conveniently; not forgetting, among all the rest, so to spoil and turn up side down the cardinal's town of St. Andrews, that the upper sort may be the nether, and not one *stoke* stand upon another, sparing no creature alive within the same; especially such as either in friendship or blood be allied unto the cardinal, etc." The historian adds, that "these barbarous orders seem to have been executed with a rigorous and unfeeling exactness."—See Robertson's *History of Scotland*, p. 49, Harpers' edition.

It seems scarcely credible that orders like these could, less than three centuries ago, have emanated from the government of a nation now among the most highly improved and humane of Christendom; and it is from such facts that we may most readily estimate the immense advance which, within a comparatively short period, has been made in civilization.—*Am. Ed.*

advised to commit him at once to the Tower. He objected to this as a harsh measure; but was assured that the primate was so unpopular, that charges in abundance would be brought against him when he should be in confinement. He at length consented that the prelate should be summoned next day before the council, and committed if they deemed it advisable.

Before midnight the king sent Sir Anthony Denny to Lambeth, to summon the primate to his presence. Cranmer, who was in bed, rose, and came to Whitehall. Henry told him what he had done: Cranmer declared himself indifferent about the committal, as he could easily clear himself. "Oh Lord!" cried the king, "what fond simplicity have you, so to permit yourself to be imprisoned that every enemy of yours may take advantage against you? Do you not know that, when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you and condemn you?" He then went on to tell him that *he* had taken better measures for his safety; desired him to claim his right, as a privy councillor, of being confronted with his accusers; and, if that should be refused, to produce the ring which he then gave him, and appeal to *him*.

Cranmer returned home, and the next morning at eight o'clock he was summoned to appear before the council. When he came, he was obliged to remain sitting in the anteroom among the servants. At length he was brought before the board, and informed of the charges against him, and his demand to be confronted with his accusers was at once refused. "I am sorry, my lords," said he, "that you drive me to such a step; but, seeing myself likely to obtain no fair usage from you, I must appeal to his majesty." He then produced the ring: they gazed on it and on each other for some time in silence; and at length Lord Russel said with an oath, "Did I not tell you, my lords, what would come of this affair? I knew right well that the king would never permit my Lord of Canterbury to be imprisoned, unless it were for

high treason." They then took the ring and papers to the king, who rated them well for their treatment of the primate. "I would have you to know," said he in conclusion, "that I account my Lord of Canterbury as faithful a man towards me as was ever prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden by the faith I owe to God." The Duke of Norfolk replied that their only object had been to give the primate an opportunity of refuting the charges made against him. "I pray you," said the king, "use not my friends so. I perceive now, well enough, how the world goeth among you." At the royal command they all then shook hands with the placable primate; and, a few days after, were entertained by him at Lambeth.

Shortly after, at Cranmer's desire, the king suppressed some popular superstitions: such as ringing bells and keeping watch the whole night before All-hallows' day; veiling the cross and the images in churches through Lent, unveiling them on Palm Sunday, and kneeling before the cross on that day. But the king himself went still farther, and forbade the practice of creeping to the cross and adoring it.

The king's last parliament met on the 23d of November, and its chief business was to relieve his pecuniary difficulties. It granted large subsidies, and suppressed all the hospitals and other charitable foundations, transferring their revenues to the king. It even went so far as to empower him to seize those of the universities, he making a solemn promise "that all shall be done to the glory of God and common profit to the realm." It farther legalized all the transfers of property which the church dignitaries had been forced to make to the crown. The king then dissolved the parliament on the 24th of December. He made, on this occasion, a speech, which he concluded by complaining of the religious dissensions which prevailed. Of the clergy he said that they did nothing but rail at each other, while the laity censured the conduct of the clergy, and debated Scripture in alehouses and taverns. He exhorted both parties

to give over calling one another ill names, and to live in peace and charity.

The next year, 1546, showed how well the king's advice was attended to ; for the flames of Smithfield blazed once more. The principal victim was a lady named Anne Askew, daughter of a knight of Lincolnshire. She had been married to a gentleman named Kyme, to whom she bore two children ; but, having adopted the reformed sentiments, her husband, a zealous papist, turned her out of doors. She resumed her maiden name, and came to London in hopes of obtaining a divorce. Here she transgressed the Six Articles ; and she was also suspected of conveying religious books to the queen and some ladies at court. She was taken before Bonner, bishop of London : a recantation was proffered to her to sign, when she wrote that she believed " all manner of things contained in the faith of the Catholic Church ;" and, though this was ambiguous, Bonner was obliged to let her go on bail. This year she was again arrested, and examined before the council by Gardiner and Wriothesley. They could neither move nor refute her ; but she was sent to Newgate, tried before a jury for heresy, and sentenced to die. It was hoped, by means of the rack, to get her to implicate some persons of rank. She was accordingly taken to the Tower, and placed on that horrid instrument. She bore the torture with the utmost firmness, not uttering even a cry. The lieutenant, refusing to allow his man to torment her any farther, Wriothesley and Rich threw off their gowns and worked the instrument themselves.* When taken off she fainted, but on her recovering she maintained a conversation with them for two hours, sitting on the bare ground. She was carried in a chair to the stake on the 16th of July ; and with her were John Lascelles, a gentleman of the royal household, Nicholas Belenian, a Shropshire clergyman, and John Adams, a poor tailor : all, like Anne Askew, deniers of transubstantiation. Wriothesley sent to offer them

* The fact of her being racked is denied by Lingard, vi., 353.

a pardon if they would recant. "I came not hither," said Anne, "to deny my Lord and Master." The others were equally firm, and all were burned.

It was commonly said at this time of the Bishop of Winchester, that "he had bent his bow in order to shoot some of the head deer." He had covertly shot at Cranmer, and he now openly aimed at the queen. Henry, who was grown peevish and irritable from disease, was annoyed at her urging him on the subject of religion; and one day, as she left the room, he fretfully noticed it to Gardiner, who was present. The artful prelate saw his opportunity, and succeeded in prevailing on the king to let articles of accusation be drawn up against her. When prepared, they received the royal approbation; but, luckily for the queen, the paper was dropped (probably by design) by the person who was carrying it, and was picked up by one of her friends. Her alarm at her danger brought on an attack of illness; the king came to visit her; she expressed her regret at seeing so little of him, and her fear of having given him offence. They parted on good terms. Next evening she visited the king; he asked her opinion on some points of religion, and she modestly replied that the man was the woman's natural superior, and her judgment should be directed by his. "Not so, by St. Mary," said the king: "you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, as we take it, and not to be instructed by us." She answered him that, in arguing with him, her only object had been to divert his mind and to derive information. "And is it even so, sweetheart?" cried he: "then perfect friends are we now again. It doth me more good to hear these words of thine own mouth, than it would have done had I heard the news of a hundred thousand pounds fallen unto me." He embraced and dismissed her; and, when she was gone, highly extolled her to those who were present; and yet the capricious tyrant had been on the point of sending her to the Tower, perhaps even to the stake!

Next day he sent for her to the garden. While they were there, the chancellor came with forty men

to arrest her. The king frowned ; the queen retired ; the chancellor knelt ; the words " Knave, fool, beast, avaunt from my presence !" reached the ears of the queen, and she came forward to interpose. " Ah, poor soul," said Henry, " thou little knowest how evil he hath deserved this grace at thy hands. Of my word, sweetheart, he hath been towards thee an arrant knave, and so let him go." Orders were now given that Gardiner should appear no more in the royal presence ; and the king also struck his name out of the list of executors named in his will.

The days of the monarch were now fast drawing to their close. He was become so corpulent and unwieldy that he could only be moved about in a chair, and an ulcer in one of his legs was at this time so fetid as to be hardly endurable by those about him. One more act of injustice and cruelty was, however, to be perpetrated by him. The head of the Romish party and of the ancient nobility was the Duke of Norfolk, a man who had on several occasions done good service to the crown ; and his son, the Earl of Surrey, was the most accomplished nobleman of the age.* The Seymours, the uncles of the young prince, may be regarded as the chiefs of the reformed party ; and there was a jealousy between them and the Howards, who despised them as upstarts. Whether it proceeded from the intrigues of the Seymours, or from the king's own caprice or apprehensions, the duke and his son were committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. Feebler or more ill-supported charges never were made than on this occasion. Surrey's principal offences were his having quartered the arms of the Confessor with his own, a thing in which he was warranted by the heralds ; his having spoken contemptuously of the new nobility ; and his having two Italians in his service, whom one of the witnesses suspected to be spies. Being a commoner, he was tried on the 13th of January, 1547, by a jury at Guild-

* His poems are still read with pleasure. He gave the earliest specimens of blank verse in our language, in his translation of a part of the *Æneid* of Virgil.

hall, before the chancellor and other commissioners. He defended himself with eloquence and spirit; but vain was all defence in this reign. He was condemned as a traitor, and six days after was beheaded on Tower Hill.*

The Duke of Norfolk was accused of various trifling acts of treason, and every effort was made to get up evidence against him. A great part of the misfortune of himself and his son originated in family dissension. The duchess, who was separated from her husband, actuated by jealousy, wrote to the lord privy seal, accusing him; and his daughter, the Duchess of Richmond, was one of the witnesses against her brother. Mrs. Holland, who was supposed to be the duke's mistress, testified all she could against him. The duke was induced to sign a confession of having divulged the king's secrets, concealed his son's treason in quartering the arms of the Confessor, and having himself quartered those of England. But all availed not: a bill of attainder was hurried through parliament; the royal assent was given by commission on the 27th, and he was ordered for execution the next morning. Fortunately for Norfolk, the king died in the night, and a respite was sent to the Tower.

The king had gradually been growing worse, but his friends feared to apprize him of his danger. At length Sir Anthony Denny ventured to inform him of his approaching dissolution. He received the intelligence with apparent calmness, expressing his reliance on the merits of the Saviour. Sir Anthony asked if he would have any divine to attend him. He said, if any, it should be the Archbishop of Canterbury; but "Let me take a little sleep first," said he, "and when I awake again I shall think more about the matter." When he awoke, he directed that Cranmer should be brought from Croydon. The prelate came in all

* At the very time of this most barbarous execution, it is stated by Holingshed that the royal murderer was himself lying in the agonies of death. What a frightful picture of his ruling passion for blood, strong even in the struggles of expiring nature, does this present!—*Am. Ed.*

haste, but found him speechless. He desired him to give a sign of his faith in the merits of Christ: the king pressed his hand and expired.*

Nothing can be more injudicious than the conduct of those Protestant writers who, identifying Henry with the Reformation, seem to think themselves bound to apologize for, and even justify, the various enormities with which his memory is charged. A slight knowledge of history will suffice to show that the worst instruments are often employed to produce the greatest and best results. We may therefore allow Henry to have been a bad man, and yet regard the Reformation, of which he was an instrument, as a benefit to mankind. It is, on the other hand, weak in the Romanists to charge the Reformation with the vices of Henry, as it would be in Protestants were they to impute to *their* religion the atrocities of Pope Alexander VI. and his children, Cæsar and Lucretia Borgia.

Thorough selfishness formed the basis of Henry's character.† He never was known to sacrifice an in-

* The reader cannot but experience a sensible relief in coming to the close of a life so revolting to every feeling of justice and humanity as that of this monarch. That this bloodstained tyrant should put on the mockery of Christian trust in his dying moments, would seem incredible in one less thoroughly and irrecoverably reprobate. Russell, in speaking of the manner of his death, remarks, that "his end affords a striking example that composure in death is not the inseparable characteristic of a life well spent, nor vengeance in this world the universal fate of bloodthirsty tyrants. Happily," he continues, "we know that there is a state beyond the grave where all accounts will be settled, and a tribunal before which every one must answer for the deeds done in the flesh; otherwise we should be apt to conclude, from seeing the same things happen to the just and the unjust, to the cruel and the merciful, that there was no eye in heaven that regarded the actions of man, nor any arm to punish."—*Modern Europe*, i., 394, Harpers' edition.—*Am. Ed.*

† See Wolsey's opinion of him (*supra*, p. 183). He went to dine one day with Sir T. More at Chelsea. After dinner he walked for an hour in the garden with him, with his arm round his neck. When More's son-in-law, Roper, congratulated him on the favour he seemed to be in, "I thank our Lord, son," quoth he, "I find his grace my very good lord indeed, and I believe he doth as singu-

clination to the interest or happiness of another. "He spared no man in his anger;" everything must yield to his will. He was rapacious and profuse, vain and self-sufficient. At the same time he was courteous and affable; and, when in good-humour, had a gay, jovial manner highly captivating in a ruler. His people remembered the magnificence of his early reign, his handsome person, and his skill in martial exercises; and he was popular with them to the very last. The constancy of his friendship to Cranmer is the most estimable trait in his character; but the prime never had dared to oppose his will. Henry's patronage of letters was also highly commendable. He was skilful in selecting those whom he employed in church and state, and rarely promoted an inefficient person.

CHAPTER VI.

EDWARD VI.*

1547-1553.

The Council.—Progress of the Reformation.—Invasion of Scotland, and Battle of Pinkey.—Lord Seymour.—Joan Bocher.—Risings of the Peasantry.—Fall of Somerset.—Bonner and Gardiner.—The Lady Mary.—Trial and Execution of Somerset.—Settlement of the Crown.—Death of the King.

THE new monarch being only in his tenth year, Henry had in his will nominated a council of sixteen persons to administer the government till he should have completed his eighteenth year. A second coun-

larly favour me as any subject within this realm; howbeit, son Roper, I may tell thee I have no cause to be proud thereof; for if my head would win him a castle in France, it should not fail to go." This was in 1522, in Henry's jovial days.

* Authorities: Hayward, Godwin, Foxe, Burnet, Strype, the Chroniclers, etc.

cil of twelve persons was appointed to aid them in cases of difficulty. Hertford and his friends formed a majority in the council of regency ; and one of its first acts was to invest him with the office of protector of the realm and guardian of the king's person. The chief, or, rather, sole opponent of this measure, was the Chancellor Wriothesley, who, being from his office next in rank to the primate, whom he knew to have little talent or inclination for public affairs, had reckoned that their chief direction would fall to himself.

The members of the council next proceeded to bestow titles and estates on themselves, Sir Anthony Denny, Sir William Paget, and Sir William Hertford, having deposed that such was the late king's intention. Hertford was created Duke of Somerset ; Essex (the queen's brother), Marquis of Northampton ; Lord Lisle, Earl of Warwick ; Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton ; and Seymour, Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield, barons of the same names. Manors and lordships were to be bestowed on them out of the church lands, to enable them to support their new dignities. Meantime Somerset and others took to themselves the revenues of sundry deaneries and prebends ; and, when they had thus provided for themselves, they proceeded to the ceremony of the young king's coronation, which was performed with the usual magnificence on the 20th of February.

The chief obstacle in the way of Somerset's ambition being the chancellor, he was on the watch for a pretext to get rid of him, and Southampton's imprudence soon furnished one. In order to be able to devote himself more exclusively to politics, he had, without consulting his colleagues, put the great seal into commission, and appointed four lawyers to hear and decide causes in chancery. Complaint was made to the council ; and the judges, on being consulted, declared the act illegal. The chancellor, when summoned before the council, ably defended himself : still he was obliged to surrender the great seal, and to remain a prisoner in his own house till the amount of

the fine to be imposed on him should be settled Southampton's opposition being thus removed, Somerset proceeded to enlarge his own authority ; and he procured letters patent under the great seal (now held provisionally by Lord St. John), making him Protector, with full regal power. He appointed a council, composed of the members of those nominated in the late king's will ; but he reserved the power of increasing their number, and did not bind himself to follow their advice. By this plain usurpation Somerset was invested with more power than had ever yet been placed in the hands of a subject.

The Protestants, as we shall henceforth style the Reformers,* now looked forward to the rapid spread of their principles. The young king had been brought up in them ; and the protector and the members of the council, with the exception of the Bishop of Durham, were, from various motives (partly pure and partly interested), in favour of them. It was a great advantage that Cranmer, to whom the protector much deferred in these matters, was a man of extreme moderation and caution.

Cranmer commenced by petitioning the council, on the 7th of February, to restore him to his ecclesiastical jurisdiction : for, as he argued, it had proceeded from the crown, and therefore had expired with the late king. The other bishops were obliged to follow his example ; and they were thus brought under obedience to the council. A royal visitation of all the dioceses in the kingdom was next appointed. The vis-

* Our author calls the other party, in accommodation to general usage, Catholics ; though from their continued adherence to the discipline, doctrines, and authority of the Church of Rome, we might, perhaps more properly, call them Romanists. The term *Catholic*, signifying *universal*, is applicable to the Church of Christ at large—to the whole of that church, as it has existed in all past time, as it exists now, and as it shall continue to exist for all time to come, throughout the world. To call the Church of Rome, therefore, *the Catholic Church*, is the same as calling it *the Universal Church*, or, in other words, *the ONLY Church*. Hence the manifest impropriety, to say nothing more, of applying the term Catholic, in a limited or distinctive sense, to any single denomination of professing Christians whatever.—*Am. Ed.*

iters received directions to suppress sundry superstitious practices : such as the sprinkling of beds with holy water, using consecrated candles for driving away the evil spirits, etc., and to see that the clergy performed their functions in a decorous and proper manner. A book of homilies, and Erasmus's paraphrase of the New Testament, were to be provided for each church ; and one of these homilies (which were mostly drawn up by Cranmer) was to be read on Sundays and holydays. Images which had not been objects of pilgrimage were to be retained, and every precaution was taken to shock the prejudices of the people as little as possible. To these innovations Bonner made some opposition at first, but he afterward submitted. Gardiner, a man of more firmness and authority, resisted them vigorously, for which he was committed by the council to the Fleet.*

In the autumn the protector invaded Scotland. His chief object was to endeavour to force the Scottish nation to agree to a union (so manifestly advantageous to both countries) by the marriage of the two young sovereigns ; but the queen-mother and the Romish party were strongly opposed to it, and the Scottish Reformers had lately disgraced their cause by one of those atrocities which distinguished their religious temper from that of the English. The cardinal-primate, by engaging the Earl of Bothwell to break his faith, having got into his hands a gentleman of the name of Wishart, a zealous preacher of the new doctrine, had him tried and condemned to the flames for heresy ; and when Arran, the regent, refused to concur in the sentence, he, of his own authority, had caused him to be burned, himself witnessing the execution from a window. Some of Wishart's friends determined on vengeance ; and they contrived, early in the morning of the 28th of May, 1546, to enter the castle of St. Andrews, and murder the cardinal in his bedchamber. Their friends then repaired to them,

* A prison so called in London, and afterward the principal debtors' prison of that metropolis.—*Am. Ed.*

and they sent to London to seek aid from Henry, who promised them his protection. By means of supplies forwarded to them from England, they were enabled to hold out against the regent for more than a twelvemonth; but he at length succeeded in reducing them by the help of a fleet of French galleys.

Somerset, taking with him the Earl of Warwick as second in command, crossed the Tweed on the 2d of September, at the head of twenty thousand men; while a fleet under Lord Clinton moved in view along the coast. He had previously put forth a manifesto, stating all the reasons for the proposed marriage; but the ostensible cause assigned for his invasion was the depredations committed by the Scottish borderers. Arran, on the other hand, summoned all the fighting men to his standard; and, having collected a force nearly double that of the English, he took his post on the banks of the Esk, about four miles from Edinburgh. A skirmish of cavalry took place, in which the Scots were worsted. Somerset then proposed assailing their camp; but, finding it too strong, he sent, offering to evacuate the kingdom, and to make good all the damage done, provided the Scots would engage not to marry their queen to any foreign prince, and to keep her at home till she should be of age to choose for herself. The moderation of these demands caused them to be rejected. The priests, who had flocked to the camp, inflamed the bigotry of the Scots against the English heretics: when they saw the protector move toward the sea, they concluded that it was his intention to embark his troops, and thus escape; and, confident of victory, they left their camp, crossed the river, and advanced in order of battle into the plain. In the engagement which ensued, the Scots, in consequence of their imprudence and impetuosity, found themselves exposed at once to the fire of the English ships and to flights of arrows from their archers. They soon broke and fled; and the road thence to Edinburgh was strewn with the bodies of the slain; the priests, especially, finding no mercy. The loss of the Scots in the battle of Pinkey, as it is called,

was more than ten thousand slain and fifteen hundred prisoners; while the victors lost not two hundred men. The protector, by following up his successes, might have now imposed what terms he pleased; but the intelligence of intrigues against him at court determined him to return to London without delay; and, leaving Warwick at Berwick, with full powers to treat of peace with Arran, he quitted Scotland, in which he had been altogether but sixteen days. The negotiations, however, came to nothing; and the following year the young queen was conveyed to France, where she was soon after betrothed to the dauphin.

On the return of Somerset a parliament was assembled. The law of treason was brought back to the statute of 25 Edw. III., and all the late laws extending the crime of felony, those against Lollardy,* and that of the Six Articles, were repealed. Heresy, however, remained a capital crime; and was to be punished, as heretofore, by burning. The act making the king's proclamation of equal force with a statute was also annulled. A law was passed restoring the communion in both kinds to the laity, and, at the same time, prohibiting all contempt and reviling of the eucharist. Those who sought to fatten on the property of the church, carried, in spite of the opposition of Cranmer and the other prelates, an act for vesting in the crown the revenues of such colleges, chantries, etc., as had yet escaped the royal grasp. On the prorogation of parliament a general pardon was announced, and Gardiner was therefore set at liberty.

On the approach of Lent in 1548, an order of council was issued, prohibiting various superstitious usages common at that season. It was directed that candles should not be carried about on Candlemas-day, nor ashes presented on Ash-Wednesday, nor palms borne on Palm-Sunday.† Orders also were

* The religious doctrines of the Lollards, as the followers of Wickliffe had been called in England.—*Am. Ed.*

† *Candlemas*—the festival commemorative of the presentation of Christ in the Temple—kept on the 2d of February, and deriving its name from the great number of candles lighted during mass

given for the removal of all images, without exception, from the churches. As many of the reformed preachers were very intemperate in their language, none were henceforth to be allowed to preach who had not received a license for the purpose. On the 8th of May a new communion-service was put forth by the royal authority. In the preface, the practice of auricular confession was left optional with the communicants: "a prelude," says Hume, "to the entire abolition of that invention; one of the most powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity, and giving their spiritual guides an entire ascendant over them." In the course of the year, Cranmer, aided by several of the ablest divines among the Reformers, compiled a liturgy in English. They proceeded with great moderation and judgment, selecting and translating such portions of the mass as were agreeable to Scripture, and making no innovation for the mere sake of change. This liturgy, the basis of the service still in use, having been approved of by parliament, was ordered to be used in all the churches.* By another act, permission was given to the clergy to follow the dictates of nature, and enter into matrimony like other men.

The protector's brother had, as we have seen, been created a baron by the title of Seymour of Sudeley; and Warwick had also resigned the post of high-admiral in his father's favour. Seymour was a haughty, aspiring man; he had been paying his addresses to Catharine Parr when Henry chose her for his queen.

on that day in the churches. Ash-Wednesday—the first day of the great fast of Lent, and so called from the penitents lying on that day in ashes, the more deeply to express their humiliation. Palm-Sunday—the last Sunday in Lent, or the Sunday before Easter, and receiving its name from the practice of carrying about palm-branches on this day, in remembrance of Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem, when the multitude strewed these branches in his way.—*Am. Ed.*

* This liturgy underwent a variety of alterations during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles II., before it was finally completed, as in its present form, in the Book of Common Prayer.—*Am. Ed.*

Neither had dared oppose the despot's will; but her heart was Seymour's; and the king was hardly consigned to the tomb, when, with rather indecent haste, she gave him her hand. Her death, however, in September, 1548, put an end to any hopes he might have formed of advancing his ambitious views through her wealth and influence; and he therefore directed his thoughts to the Lady Elizabeth, now fifteen years of age, his attentions to whom had excited the jealousy of the dowager-queen, under whose care she lived. He also sought to win the affections of the young king, by supplying him frequently with money, and by insinuating that he was old enough to take the government on himself. Sharington, vice-treasurer of the mint at Bristol, had engaged to furnish him with funds; and it was said that he had taken a large body of men into his pay, had fortified his house of Holt in Denbighshire, and that he intended to carry off the young king. He also engaged several of the discontented nobles to enter into his plans. Information of what he was about being laid before the council on the 19th of January, 1549, he was committed to the Tower. A charge, consisting of thirty-three articles, was drawn up against him. To three of these, when exhibited to him, he answered, but he would not sign his replies: of the rest he took no notice, but persisted in demanding an open trial. On the 25th of February, a bill of attainder against him was brought into the upper house; the judges declared the acts with which he was charged to be treasonable, and evidence was heard in proof of them. The bill passed the lords rapidly; but in the commons it encountered much opposition, many expressing their disapprobation of this mode of proceeding by attainder, and saying that the admiral ought to be heard in his defence. A message was brought from the king, declaring that all the evidence should be repeated before them if they desired it. This, however, was not required; and the commons immediately passed the bill, only ten or twelve members opposing it. It received the royal assent on the 14th of March; and,

three days after, the warrant for the execution was signed by the council, Somerset and Cranmer being among those who affixed their names to it. On the 20th the admiral was beheaded. He declared that "he had never committed or meant any treason against the king or kingdom." One of his last acts was to write letters, to be secretly delivered to the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, urging them to avenge his death. It certainly does not appear that the admiral's guilt amounted to treason. It was against his brother, and not the king, that he had conspired: he was, however, a dangerous man, and was evidently sacrificed to expediency.*

No one had yet thought of putting down heresy in any way but by violence; and the Reformers would as little bear any attack on the articles of faith which they had retained, as the Catholics themselves. In April, a commission was issued to Cranmer, and other prelates and laymen, to take cognizance of Anabaptists, heretics, and contemners of the common prayer. Several were brought before them, who recanted, and bore fagots, as was in such cases the custom. A woman of good birth and education, in Kent, named Joan Bocher, was charged before the commissioners with maintaining an old exploded heresy, namely, that Christ did not take flesh of the Virgin. Her words were, "Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being sinful, he could take none of it; but the Word, by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin, took flesh of her." On her refusal to recant, Cranmer pronounced sentence on her, and she was delivered over to the secular arm. "It is a goodly matter," said she to her judges, "to consider your ignorance. Not long ago you burned Anne Askew for a piece of bread, and yet came yourselves to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her! And now, for-

* The upright Latimer, in a sermon which he preached at this time, asserted Seymour's guilt in the most positive terms from his own knowledge.

sooth, you will burn me for a piece of flesh; and, in the end, you will come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures and understand them." These words ought to have made Cranmer and Ridley, at least, who were probably the persons chiefly meant, doubt their own infallibility.* The poor woman was kept an entire year in prison, and Cranmer and Ridley had frequent conferences with her to no purpose. The young king had the greatest repugnance to signing the warrant, and it was only the authority of Cranmer that at length overcame his scruples. He signed it, saying that the guilt, if any, must be on the primate's head.† She was consigned to the flames at Smithfield on the 2d of May in the following year. Dr. Scory preached on the occasion; and she cried to him, "You lie like a rogue; go search the Scriptures." She died, as was to be expected, with constancy. About a year after a Dutchman named Parr was burned for Arianism.

In the course of this summer insurrections broke out in various parts of the kingdom, the causes of which were partly religious, and partly civil and domestic. There are, perhaps, few evils without some attendant good; and monachism, though injurious to the best interests of man, had some beneficial results. The monks were in England, as in other countries, the most indulgent of landlords. Restricted to a particular mode of life, and not having families to provide for, they had few motives to urge them to be griping and oppressive. They also resided constantly on their estates; they received their rents mostly in kind, and they spent them on the spot, thus giving encouragement to the industrious; while the more

* In 1545, Ridley, from studying the work of Ratramn on the subject, was led to reject the doctrine of the real presence. He communicated his ideas to Cranmer, who, on inquiry, came to coincide with him in opinion.

† Foxe, 1179. Soames (*Hist. of Reformat.*, iii., 544) attempts to throw doubt on the story. We wish he had succeeded: for, after making all due allowance, it is a blot on Cranmer's character.

indigent gentry were glad to share their liberal hospitality, and the poor in general derived relief from the food distributed at the convent-gate. But all this was changed when the abbey lands passed by gift or nominal purchase into the hands of the Russels, Paulets, Petres, and other vultures of the court. The tenantry were obliged to surrender their leases, and take out new ones at double or treble the rent; the new landlords neglected the injunction passed on them to maintain hospitality, and lived mostly in London, leaving their tenants to be oppressed by their stewards. Farther, as wool was found to be more profitable than corn, they pulled down farmhouses and villages, converted the arable land into sheep-walks, and, in their grasping spirit, took in and enclosed the commons. The peasantry, whose numbers had rather increased in consequence of the long period of internal tranquillity which the kingdom had enjoyed, and whose occupation and subsistence were thus diminished, felt the pressure of want severely: they had no longer the charity of the monasteries to look to; and, to add to their distress, in consequence of the amount of the precious metals now poured into Europe from the New World, and the frequent debasements of the coin in the late reign, the money prices of most articles had risen considerably; while, owing to their numbers and the changes above mentioned, the supply of labour exceeded the demand for it, and thus they were unable to raise their wages in proportion. These causes, however, being in general far beyond their ken, they fixed on the one most apparent, and ascribed the deterioration of their condition solely to the changes made in the national religion.

The people rose almost simultaneously in most of the midland, southern, and eastern counties; but they were quieted by the efforts of the gentry, and of some of the "honest men among themselves." The protector, who was a man of humanity, seeing the justice of their complaints, issued, against the consent of the council, a commission of inquiry respecting enclosures, and directed that such as were found to be il-

legal should be destroyed. The people, thus encouraged, began of themselves to level the enclosures in sundry places, while the landowners exclaimed against the protector as sacrificing their interests to a passion for vulgar popularity.

The most formidable risings were those in Oxfordshire, Devon, and Norfolk. The first, however, was easily suppressed by Lord Grey de Wilton; the insurgents dispersing at the approach of his troops, and leaving two hundred prisoners, twelve of whom were hanged as examples. The rising in Devon was much more formidable: it broke out on the 10th of June, in the parish of Sampford Courteney, where the new liturgy had been read for the first time the day before. The people compelled their priest, who was probably nothing loath, to read the old service. The insurrection then rapidly spread; the insurgents soon numbered ten thousand men; many of the gentry joined them, and the command was given to Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. Lord Russel, who was sent against them with a small force, tried what could be effected by negotiation: they required that the mass should be restored; that the Six Articles should be again put in force; that the sacrament should be hung up and worshipped; that those who refused should be punished as heretics; that the sacrament should be given to the people only at Easter, and in one kind; that holy bread, holy water, and palms should be again used, and images again set up; that the new service should be set aside; that preachers in their sermons, and priests in the mass, should pray for souls in purgatory; that the Bible should be suppressed, since otherwise the clergy could not easily confound the heretics; and that Cardinal Pole should be restored, and made one of the council. They also required that half the abbey and church lands should be resumed, and that gentlemen should have but one servant for every hundred marks of yearly rent. To these demands, evidently dictated by their priests, Cranmer, by direction of the council, drew up a reply; and a proclamation was is-

sued, in high terms, ordering them to disperse; but they advanced, with the consecrated wafer preceding them, to lay siege to Exeter. The citizens made a vigorous defence; and the rebels, having tried in vain to take the town by escalade and by mine, converted the siege into a blockade; but Lord Russel, being re-enforced, attacked and routed them. Arundel, the mayor of Bodmin, and other leaders, were taken and executed; and the vicar of St. Thomas was hanged from his own steeple in his sacerdotal robes.

The insurrection in Norfolk was headed by one Kett, a wealthy tanner of Wymondham. Having collected about twenty thousand of the peasantry, he took his station on Mousewold Hill, which overlooks Norwich; and there, seated beneath an old oak, which was thence named the Oak of Reformation, he summoned the gentry before him, and made what decrees he pleased respecting enclosures and other matters. The Marquis of Northampton first proceeded against the rebels; but he was routed, and Lord Sheffield was among the slain. Warwick was then sent with six thousand men, that had been levied for the war with Scotland. The rebels boldly descended into the plain to engage him; but their rout was speedy and total; two thousand were slain, and Kett was taken. He was hanged at Norwich, and nine others were suspended from the boughs of the Oak of Reformation.

The protector was now beset with difficulties on all sides: the war with Scotland languished, and the French had resumed hostilities and taken some places about Boulogne, and even menaced that possession; but when he proposed a peace in council, the members objected to it. The nobility and gentry were hostile to him for having taken the part of the people; and yet the people were not his friends because he was not of the old faith. The execution of his brother had alienated many;* the great estate he had ac-

* It was a common saying of those of his equals whom he treated slightly, "that friendship was not to be expected from a man who had shown no pity for his own brother."—*Am. Ed.*

quired, at the expense of the crown and the church, displeased others; and the palace that he was building for himself in the Strand brought great odium on him, from the means which he employed. To procure a site and materials for this edifice he pulled down the church of St. Mary-le-Strand, and three bishops' mansions. He was proceeding to demolish St. Margaret's, Westminster, but the parishioners rose and drove off his workmen. He then turned eastward and seized on Pardon churchyard and the buildings about it on the south side of St. Paul's; the materials of which were conveyed to the Strand, and the bones of the dead carried away to Finsbury Fields. He finally blew up with gunpowder the steeple and part of the church of St. John of Jerusalem, near Smithfield.

Somerset's chief opponent was Dudley, earl of Warwick, an artful, unprincipled man. He was son to the notorious agent of Henry VII.; but the late king, finding him a young man of ability, had restored him in blood and taken him into his service. In pursuance of his plan of forming a new nobility out of the gentry, he had created him Viscount Lisle, and he was made Earl of Warwick in the beginning of the present reign.

On the 6th of October, Warwick, Southampton (who had been restored to his place in the council), St. John the president, Lord Arundel, and five others, met at Ely House; and, taking on themselves the whole power of the council, wrote to the chief nobility and gentry, calling on them for aid; as also to the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and the lieutenant of the Tower, directing them to obey their orders, and not those of the protector. Next day they were joined by Rich the chancellor, and several other counsellors. Secretary Petre, also, who had been sent to treat with them, was induced to remain. Somerset removed the king from Hampton Court to Windsor; but, finding himself generally deserted (Cranmer, Paget, and a few others only remaining faithful), he began to parley. Lord Russel and some

others, who had hitherto remained neutral, now declared against him. On the 10th he invited Warwick and his friends to come to Windsor. They proceeded thither, and the next day they committed the duke's secretary, Cecil, and four others, to the Tower, and two days after the protector himself was sent, under a strong guard, to the same fortress. Twenty-nine articles of accusation were drawn up against him, in which, though the losses incurred in the war and his assumption of power were mentioned, the chief complaint was his having sympathized with the people and sought to do them justice. On the 23d of December he was brought before the council, and on his knees confessed his guilt and subscribed the charges against him. His life was spared, but he was deprived of all his offices, and of lands to the value of 2000*l.* a year. Somerset's spirit having revived when he found his life was safe, he ventured to remonstrate against the severity of his sentence; but he was for this forced to sign a still humbler submission. He was then liberated and pardoned. Soon after, his property was restored, he was again admitted into the council, and a marriage between his daughter, Lady Anne Seymour, and Warwick's eldest son, Lord Lisle, seemed to have reconciled the rival statesmen.

The successful party now took care to reward themselves with places and titles. Warwick became great master and lord high admiral; the Marquis of Northampton was made great chamberlain, and the lords Russel and St. John were created earls of Bedford and Wiltshire; while, to reward Lord Wentworth, the manors of Stepney and Hackney were taken from the see of London. The Catholics expected that their cause, to which Warwick was thought to lean, would be now triumphant; but it was not of them or their cause that Warwick thought; and, finding the young monarch devotedly attached to the principles of the Reformation, he would not risk his power by any efforts in their favour. Southampton, finding himself thwarted in his projects, withdrew from the council;

and his death in the following year deprived the Catholics of one of their ablest supporters.

On the 24th of March a peace was made with France, in which Scotland was included. Boulogne was restored to the French king on his paying for it a sum of 400,000 crowns; and a negotiation was then set on foot for the marriage of Edward with a princess of France.

Whatever might be Warwick's private sentiments, it was resolved to carry on the Reformation. Many of the bishops were, if not hostile, at least lukewarm in this matter: and as they had, at the accession, acknowledged that they held their sees at the royal pleasure, an easy mode of proceeding against them presented itself. Bonner of London had been already deprived. At the close of the insurrections in the preceding year, he had been directed to preach at St. Paul's Cross, and inculcate the wickedness of rebellion, the superiority of holiness of life over ceremonial observances, and the competence of the king during his minority to make laws binding on his subjects. The first two he discoursed of in such a way as to advocate the doctrine of the real presence, while on the third he was perfectly silent. Two of the reformed clergy, Hooper and W. Latimer, who were present, deemed it their duty to denounce his sermon to the council. A commission was issued to two prelates, Cranmer and Ridley, the two secretaries of state, Petre and Smyth, and May, dean of St. Paul's, to examine into the charges. Nothing could well exceed Bonner's assurance when before them, and his language was abusive and violent. After several hearings, his defence not being deemed sufficient, it was resolved to withdraw from him the trust which he was held to have perverted. A sentence of deprivation for various causes was pronounced, and he was deprived of his see and confined in the **Marshal-*

* This was a prison in Southwark, the part of London situated on the south or Surrey side of the Thames, and was so named from its being under the direction and charge of the marshal of the king's household.—*Am. Ed.*

sea. Ridley was then translated from Rochester to London.

Gardiner had been now lying in the Tower for two years, for having preached a sermon nearly similar to that of Bonner on a like occasion. The Duke of Somerset and some other members of the council were sent, on the 8th of June, to try to induce him to express sorrow for the past and to promise future obedience; no decisive answer, however, could be obtained from him. On the tenth of July, six articles, relating to the royal authority in matters of religion and the book of Common Prayer, were offered to him to sign. He objected to the preamble, which contained an acknowledgment that he had acted wrong, and an expression of his sorrow for having done so. A new series of articles, expressive of approbation of the late changes, were next offered to him; but, as the preface was still the same, he refused to sign these also. The revenues of his see were then sequestered; and, when this produced no effect on him, a commission was appointed to try him; he appealed to the king, but his appeal was rejected, and sentence of deprivation was passed. Day of Chichester, Heath of Worcester, and Voisey of Exeter, were also deprived for non-compliance with the new order of things.

It has been justly observed that, if any person had a right to hate the Reformation, it was the Lady Mary: for it was associated in her mind with her mother's injuries and her own. She inherited her father's firmness and her mother's melancholy; she had been sedulously brought up in the doctrines of the Church of Rome, and she now clung to them with characteristic pertinacity. The young king, no less bigoted in his own creed, viewed her adherence to the mass with horror, but the influence of the emperor prevailed with the council, and she had her private masses. Two of her chaplains, however, Mallet and Berkley, having celebrated mass where she was not present, were committed to the Tower. Letters and messages passed between her and the council. She de-

clared herself ready to endure death for her religion, and only feared that she was not good enough to suffer martyrdom in so good a cause. She added, that "As for their books, as she thanked God she never had, so she never would read them." The emperor menaced war if she should be molested any farther; and, as this would at the time have been very injurious to the commercial interests of the country, the council prudently resolved to connive at her disobedience to the law; but it required all the influence both of Cranmer and Ridley to overcome the scruples of the young king at thus tolerating what he believed to be little better than idolatry.

In the course of this year the Book of Common Prayer underwent a new revision and improvement; and articles of religion, forty-two in number, were drawn up. Several of the Lutheran divines, particularly Bucer and Peter Martyr, were now in England, and aided the English divines with their advice. They had sought a refuge from the persecution of the emperor, who, though he could plead the rights of conscience in the case of the Lady Mary, refused to allow even the King of England's ambassadors to use, in their own houses, within his dominions, the "communion and other divine services, according to the laws of their country."*

The ambition of Warwick now began to display itself more fully: the title of Northumberland having become vacant by the death of the late earl without heirs, he caused it, with the greater part of the ample possessions of that noble house, to be granted to himself. His friend Paulet earl of Wiltshire, the treasurer, was at the same time created Marquis of Winchester; the Marquis of Dorset, Duke of Suffolk; and Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. He was determined to ruin Somerset, whom, though fallen in power and reputation, he still regarded as an obstacle in the path of his ambition. For this purpose he sought to gain over the friends and servants of that

* Proceedings of the Privy Council, 32.

nobleman, and thus surround him with spies ; he provoked him by menaces and insults ; and when the duke broke out into passionate expressions or formed vague projects of revenge (which were usually abandoned as soon as conceived), the information was conveyed to Northumberland. When he thought he had thus obtained matter enough for a plausible accusation, he resolved to proceed to action without farther delay.

On the 16th of October, 1551, the Duke of Somerset and his friend Lord Grey were arrested and committed to the Tower ; and the next day the duchess and several of her favourites were also thrown into prison. Shortly after the Earl of Arundel and the lords Paget and Decies were arrested. On the 1st of December, the duke, having been previously indicted at Guildhall, was brought to trial in Westminster Hall ; the newly-created Marquis of Winchester sat as high steward ; and Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke were among the judges,* who were twenty-seven in number. The charges against Somerset were, that he had intended to depose the king, and had plotted to seize and imprison the Earl of Warwick (Northumberland). The witnesses were not produced ; but their depositions, made the day before, were read. According to these, it had been arranged that Grey should levy forces in the north ; that Paget should invite Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke to dine with him at his house in the Strand ; that Somerset's band of one hundred horsemen should intercept them, or, if they were too well attended, assassinate them when at table ; and that the duke should meanwhile raise the city and attack the *gens d'armes* of the guard. All this Somerset positively denied : but he owned that he had spoken of the murder of these lords, though he had at once abandoned the project. The peers, after retiring for some time, acquitted him of treason, but found him guilty of felony. Their

* When Somerset objected to them it was replied, that no challenge could be made to a peer.

verdict was unanimous ; and he acknowledged its justice, asked pardon of the three lords, and expressed a hope that his life would be spared. When the people saw him come forth without the axe being borne before him, as was usual in the case of peers charged with high treason, they thought he was acquitted, and set up a loud shout of joy.

It was perhaps this proof of the unfortunate duke's popularity which determined Northumberland not to spare him. The utmost pains were taken to impress his royal nephew with a belief of his guilt ; and the prisoner was deprived of all means of communicating with the king, who, as it was now the season of Christmas, was kept engaged in a constant succession of amusements.

The 22d of January, 1552, was the day appointed for the execution. Though orders had been issued for the citizens to keep their families and servants within doors till after ten o'clock, Tower Hill was crowded at daybreak by the people, by whom Somerset was greatly beloved. At eight the duke ascended the scaffold, with a firm step and a cheerful countenance. He knelt and prayed, then rose and addressed the people, asserting his loyalty, rejoicing in the state of purity to which he had been instrumental in bringing the national religion, and exhorting them to accept and embrace it thankfully. A movement, of which the cause did not immediately appear, now took place among the people, and several were thrown down and crushed. Presently Sir Anthony Brown, a member of the council, was seen approaching on horseback ; and the people, fancying he brought a reprieve, flung up their caps, shouting, "A pardon, a pardon ! God save the king !" A gleam of hope flushed the countenance of Somerset ; but, when the truth was ascertained, he resumed his address with composure ; and having concluded it, and read a paper containing his profession of faith, he knelt down and received the fatal stroke. Several persons then pressed forward and steeped their handkerchiefs in his blood, as in that of a martyr.

Like many other unfortunate persons in history, the Duke of Somerset was unequal to the situation in which he was placed; his talents were ill matched with his ambition; and he thus fell into the gravest errors, and even stained himself with a brother's blood. In more tranquil times, his naturally mild and humane disposition might have caused him to pass a life of peace and happiness. Somerset stands almost alone at this period as a nobleman really caring for the rights and interests of the lower classes of the people.

Four of Somerset's friends were executed. The Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget were never brought to trial, but they were obliged to make submissions and confessions, resign their offices, and pay fines. Lord de Grey and some others were discharged.

The next of Northumberland's victims was Tunstall, the estimable prelate of Durham. As Tunstall's firm adherence to Romanism had made him adverse to the new order of things, a person named Menville had written to him, proposing a plan for an insurrection in the north. The bishop incautiously answered the letter. Menville then gave information to the council, who summoned Tunstall before them; but his letter to Menville could not be found, and nothing, therefore, could be proved against him. Somerset, it would appear, had concealed this letter out of regard to the bishop; for, after his death, it was found in one of his caskets. The proceedings, therefore, were now resumed; and a bill of attainder was introduced into the house of lords and passed, none opposing it except Cranmer and Lord Stourton, a zealous Catholic. The commons, more just or more courageous, insisted that the bishop and his accusers should be confronted; and, this being refused, they threw out the bill. A commission was then appointed to try him; and he was deprived, and his goods confiscated. The regalities of the see were transferred to Northumberland; and, but for subsequent events, much of its property also would have gone into his possession.

In the month of April of the following year, 1553, the young king had an attack of the measles, which was followed by the smallpox: his constitution, originally delicate, was much shaken, and there seemed little prospect of his life being prolonged for many years. If the Lady Mary should succeed, Northumberland had everything to apprehend: he therefore represented to Edward the dangers likely to result to true religion, should the supreme power of the state come to one so bigoted to the ancient superstition; and reminded him that the act of parliament declaring her illegitimacy was still in force, and might be employed to exclude her. Although the Princess Elizabeth was a Protestant, she came under the same act, and consequently must also be excluded; so that there only remained the descendants of the daughters of Henry VII., the queens of Scotland and France. But these were excluded by the late king's will: the Duchess of Suffolk, eldest daughter of the latter by the Duke of Suffolk, was consequently next in order of succession; and she would willingly transfer her rights to her eldest daughter, the Lady Jane Grey, of whose attachment to Protestantism there could be no doubt. To these suggestions Edward listened with approbation.

The ambitious Northumberland aimed not merely at excluding the Lady Mary, but hoped to bring a crown matrimonial into his own house. At this very time, his residence, Durham House, was the scene of connubial festivities; the Lady Jane Grey became the bride of his fourth son, Lord Guilford Dudley; her sister Catharine was married to the eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke; and the Lady Catharine Dudley to Lord Hastings, eldest son of the Earl of Huntingdon.

On the 11th of June, Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas, was summoned, with two of the other judges, and the attorney and solicitor general, to attend the king at Greenwich. When they came, Edward apprized them of his intentions respecting the devise of the crown; and putting into

their hands a draught of the measure, signed by him in six different places, desired them to draw up a legal instrument to that effect. They attempted to remonstrate, but he would not hear them ; and only granted them some delay to examine the various settlements of the crown. Two days afterward they came, and informed the council that such an instrument would subject both the drawers and the advisers of it to the penalties of treason. Northumberland, who was in an adjoining room, when he heard this, came out in a rage, and, calling Montague a traitor, said, "I will fight in my shirt with any man in this quarrel." They retired ; and, soon after, all but the solicitor-general were again summoned to appear before the king, who asked them in an angry tone why they had not obeyed his command. The chief justice explained the reason ; and, when the king expressed his intention of calling a parliament, advised that the matter should be deferred till it met. But Edward insisted on its being done immediately ; and the lawyers finally consented, on condition of receiving a commission under the great seal and a pardon. When the instrument was drawn up, Northumberland resolved that it should be signed by all the privy counsellors, and by the judges and law officers. Among the judges, Sir James Hales, a zealous Protestant, alone refused, and Cranmer only among the counsellors ; but, with his wonted weakness, he swerved from his resolution. He had all along advised the king against the measure ; and earnestly sought, but could not obtain, a private audience, in the hope of dissuading him from it. When called on to sign, like the rest, he said, "I cannot set my hand to this instrument without committing perjury : for I have already sworn to the succession of the Lady Mary, according to his late majesty's testament." He was then required to attend the king. "I hope," said Edward to him, "that you will not stand out, and be more repugnant to my will than all the rest of my council. The judges have informed me that I may lawfully bequeath my crown to the Lady Jane, and that my subjects may lawfully receive her as queen,

notwithstanding the oath which they took under my father's will." Cranmer asked permission to consult with the judges: their explanations seem to have removed his scruples, as he put his signature to the devise.

The young king was now taken from under the care of his physicians, who declared that their skill was baffled, and committed to the charge of a woman, who pretended to have some specific for his disease; but he rapidly grew worse, and on the 6th of July he breathed his last. Almost his last words were, "Oh my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name for Jesus Christ's sake."

Edward died so young that his character had not developed itself sufficiently to enable us to appreciate it. He has, however, been the subject of unlimited panegyric to the pens of zealous Protestants, who identify him with the progress made by the Reformation in his reign. He was certainly amiable in his disposition, and his piety was fervent and sincere, but it showed symptoms of degenerating into bigotry and intolerance. His abilities were more than moderate, and they had been carefully cultivated. It is to the glory of Edward's reign, and to the honour of his advisers, that it was free from bloodshed on account of the contest between the old and new religions.* "Edward," says Dodd, a Catholic, "did not shed blood on that account. No sanguinary, but only penal, laws were executed on those who stood off." The furious zealots of the succeeding reign could not, therefore, say that they followed the example set them by those they murdered.

* That this, however, is to be attributed to policy or circumstances rather than to a truly tolerant spirit on the part of Edward and his advisers, is shown by the executions which took place during this reign on other religious grounds. Indeed, it was long after this before there was any just appreciation of the rights of conscience in matters of religion. The *general sentiment* in relation to this subject was utterly perverted and wrong: for, says an eloquent writer, "the toleration of heresy was deemed

CHAPTER VII.

MARY.*

1553-1555.

Lady Jane Grey.—The People declare for Mary.—Trial and Execution of Northumberland.—Proceedings against the Reformers.—The Queen's Marriage.—Wyat's Insurrection.—Execution of Lady Jane, her Husband, and her Father.—Danger of the Princess Elizabeth.—Marriage of the Queen.—Arrival of Cardinal Pole.—The Princess Elizabeth.

NORTHUMBERLAND intended to keep the death of King Edward for some time a secret. His object was to get the princesses into his power, for which purpose they had been summoned to London to see their brother. The Lady Mary had reached Huntsdon, in Herts, on the evening of the king's death; but, having received secret intelligence of that event from Arundel, she mounted her horse, and rode with all speed to Kenninghall, in Norfolk.

The council spent three days in making the necessary arrangements for securing the succession of Lady Jane. During this time they communicated the death of the king to the lord mayor, and some of the aldermen and citizens, under the seal of secrecy. On the fourth day they proceeded to make that event public; and the chief of them rode to Sion House, to announce her dignity to the young queen.

by men of all persuasions to be as unreasonable, as it would now be thought to propose the impunity of murder." So completely blind to the plainest dictates of justice and reason, no less than to the entire letter and spirit of the benign religion of the gospel, may men become when under the combined influence of prejudice and passion. And what a lesson does history read to us, vigilantly to guard the avenues of our heart against the unhallowed intrusion of a spirit of intolerance in matters of religious faith and opinion.—*Am. Ed.*

* Authorities the same as for the preceding reign.

The Lady Jane Grey was now but sixteen years of age : her person was pleasing, her disposition amiable and gentle, and her talents of a superior order. Of the extent of her acquirements and the serious turn of her mind, we have a proof in the following anecdote, related by the learned Roger Ascham : Going one day to Bradgate, the residence of her family, he learned that the other members of it were hunting in the Park : but he found the Lady Jane at home, deeply engaged in the perusal of Plato's *Phædon*,* in the original Greek. When he expressed his surprise at her thus foregoing the pleasures of the Park, she replied, with a smile, "I fancy all their sport is but a shadow to the pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folks, they never felt what true pleasure means." Besides the classic languages, she is said to have been acquainted with French and Italian, and even to have acquired some knowledge of the Oriental tongues.

Her usual residence since her marriage had been at Sion House, but she had lately removed to Chelsea. An order of the council to return to her former abode, and there await the commands of the king, was now conveyed to her by her husband's sister, Lady Sidney. Next morning she was visited by Northumberland, Northampton, Arundel, Huntingdon, and Pembroke. They addressed her in terms of unwonted respect; her mother, her mother-in-law, and the Marchioness of Northampton then entered; and the duke informed her of the death of her royal cousin, and his devise in her favour, in order to preserve the realm from papistry. The lords then fell on their knees, and swore that they were ready to shed their blood in her right. At this unexpected intelligence Jane burst into a flood of tears, and fell senseless on the ground. When she recovered, she bewailed her cousin's death, and expressed her sense of her unfitness to supply his place; but added, looking up to heaven, "If the right be truly mine, oh gracious God, give me strength, I pray most earnestly, so to rule as to promote thy honour and my country's good."

* His work on the immortality of the soul.—*Am. Ed.*

A barge was prepared, and the next day Jane was conveyed to the Tower, the usual residence of the English sovereigns previously to their coronation. As she entered it her train was borne by her own mother; her husband walked at her side, with his cap in hand; and all the nobles bent the knee as she passed. Her succession was now publicly proclaimed: but the people, whose notions of hereditary right were strong, and who hated Northumberland, listened with apathy. A vintner's boy, who ventured to express his dissent, was set in the pillory, and lost his ears for his offence. Many of the reformed clergy preached in favour of the present change in the succession; and Bishop Ridley exerted his eloquence in the same cause at St. Paul's Cross, though with little effect. For this he has been blamed, and, it may be, with reason; but he had had recent experience of Mary's unyielding bigotry, and doubtless he deemed that there was no safety for the Reformation but in her exclusion.

Though the partisans of Jane had the government, the treasures, a fleet, an army, and the fortresses in their hands, the cause of Mary was strong in the popular notion of her right, and still stronger in the popular aversion to Northumberland. The people of Norfolk, who had suffered so much at his hands in their late insurrection, were on that account disposed to favour her, and she was proclaimed at Norwich on the 13th of July. She had previously written to the council, demanding why they had concealed her brother's death, and requiring them to have her instantly proclaimed; but a denial of her right was returned, and she was called on to "surcease to molest any of Queen Jane's subjects." Her letters to divers of the nobility and gentry were better attended to: the earls of Bath and Sussex, and the heirs of lords Wharton and Mordaunt joined her, at the head of their tenantry; and Sir Edward Hastings, who had been sent by Northumberland to raise four thousand men for the cause of Jane, led them to the support of Mary. This princess had now removed to the Duke of Norfolk's castle of

Framlingham, on the coast of Suffolk, that she might escape to Flanders, if necessary. A fleet had been sent to intercept her, but the crews were induced to declare in her favour. So many of the nobility and gentry had now joined her, that she found herself at the head of an army of thirty thousand men; and Sir Edward Hastings and some other leaders were preparing to march from Drayton to Westminster with ten thousand men.

On receiving this intelligence, the council directed the Duke of Suffolk to advance with the troops which had been collected against the Lady Mary; but Jane with tears implored them not to deprive her of her father. As Suffolk's incapacity was well known, the council now called on Northumberland himself to take the command. He complied, though with reluctance, it is said, for he feared their treachery. He sent his troops forward; and, on receiving the assurances of the nobles that they would join him with their forces at Newmarket on the 14th of July, he set forth with his train. The indifference shown by the assembled populace was such as to cause him to observe to Lord Grey, as they rode through Shoreditch, "The people press to look on us, but not one saith God speed ye." He proceeded to Cambridge, whence, on the 17th, he advanced at the head of eight thousand foot and two thousand horse in the direction of Framlingham, but at Bury St. Edmund's he found it advisable to retreat, and returned to Cambridge, whence he wrote to the council, requiring them to send him re-enforcements without loss of time.

But things in London had, in the mean time, taken a new direction. On the 19th, the lord treasurer and lord privy seal, the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, and Pembroke, Sir Thomas Cheney, and Sir John Mason, met at Baynard's Castle, where they were attended by the lord-mayor, the recorder, and some of the aldermen. Arundel, who had all along been in secret correspondence with Mary, advised them to acknowledge her; and he answered the main objection by saying, "How doth it appear that Mary intends any alter-

ation in religion? Certainly, having been lately petitioned on this point by the Suffolk men, she gave them a very hopeful answer.* Pembroke then drew his sword and exclaimed, "If the arguments of my Lord of Arundel do not persuade you, this sword shall make Mary queen, or I will die in her quarrel."† All, however, gave a willing assent; they then rode forth and proclaimed Mary at St. Paul's Cross, amid the acclamations of the populace, to whom beer, wine, and money were distributed, and the night was ushered in by bonfires and illuminations.

Arundel and Paget having set forth with the news to Mary, Pembroke took the custody of the Tower from Suffolk. The Lady Jane, after a brief reign of only ten days, laid down her royalty and retired to Sion House. When her father announced to her the necessity for her resignation, she replied that it was far more agreeable than his late announcement of her accession had been; and expressed a wish that her cheerful abdication might atone for the offence she had committed in accepting the crown, in obedience to him and her mother. Northumberland himself, when he found the turn matters were taking, proclaimed Queen Mary at Cambridge; but he was arrested by Arundel, and committed to the Tower,‡ as were also the Duke of Suffolk and twenty-five more of their friends.

Mary now advanced towards London. At Wanstead, in Essex, she was met by the Lady Elizabeth, at the head of a stately cavalcade of knights, ladies, gentlemen, and their servants. Four days after, the

* "Which, indeed, was true," adds Bishop Godwin, as of his own knowledge. As it appears, however, to have been only verbal, it was easy for Mary and her partisans afterward to deny it.

† This fervent loyalist had been one of those who signed the devise of the crown to Jane, and he had sworn a few days before to shed his blood in her cause!

‡ As he was led through the city, a woman displayed one of the handkerchiefs dipped in Somerset's blood. "Behold," she cried, "the blood of that worthy man, the good uncle of that worthy prince, which was shed by thy malicious practices! It plainly now begins to revenge itself on thee."

two sisters, followed by a magnificent train, rode through the city to the Tower: Mary small, thin, and delicate; Elizabeth tall, handsome, and well-formed, and carefully displaying her beautiful hands. In the Tower Mary was met by four state-prisoners of rank: the Duke of Norfolk, the Duchess of Somerset, Courtenay, son of the late Marquis of Exeter, and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. She raised them from the ground where they knelt, kissed them, and gave them their liberty. The next day she released Tunstall and Bonner. When forming her council, she bestowed the office of chancellor on Gardiner, who soon showed that his captivity had not subdued his haughty, overbearing spirit. Paget was the next in influence and importance in her cabinet.

Though Mary had hitherto led a life of seclusion, the love of splendid apparel, which seems to have been inherent in her family, was seated deep in her heart; and she gave loose to it in such a manner as to surprise even the French ambassador, who must have been well used to the pomp and display of dress at his own court. She required all about her, both lords and ladies, to be similarly arrayed; and gray-haired dames of sixty were now to be seen in the gayest hues, and laden with jewels and ornaments: widely unlike the sober court of Edward VI. Her coronation was celebrated on the 30th of September, with all possible splendour. It was performed in the ancient manner: her clothes were all consecrated; she was anointed on various parts of her head and body; Gardiner chanted mass; and the crown was borne by Elizabeth, who, with Anne of Cleves, afterward dined at the queen's table. A general pardon to all except sixty persons, who were named, was on the same day proclaimed.

On the 18th of August, Northumberland, his son Lord Warwick, the Marquis of Northampton, Sir John and Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were brought to trial. Norfolk presided as lord high steward, for the trial of the three peers. Northumberland submitted these questions:

Could a man be guilty of treason who obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal; and could those who were involved in the same guilt with him sit as his judges? He was told that the council and great seal of which he spoke were those of a usurper, and that those against whom there was no sentence of attainder were qualified to sit as judges. They all then pleaded guilty. The commoners, who were tried the next day, did the same. Northumberland, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were selected for execution.

Abject in adversity as insolent in prosperity, Northumberland sought an interview with Gardiner, and implored his interest to save his life. "Alas!" he cried, "let me live a little longer, though it be but in a mousehole." Gardiner expressed a wish to serve him, but could not venture to give any hopes. He then prayed that a learned priest might be sent, to whom he might confess; adding, that he had never been of any religion but the bishop's own, though, for ambitious motives, he had pretended otherwise, and that so he would declare at his death. Gardiner, it is said, shed tears; and, there is reason to believe, did apply to Mary on his behalf; but the emperor had strictly enjoined her not to spare him, and, indeed, there was little reason why she should. Bishop Heath was sent to give him spiritual comfort. On the 21st, the duke and his fellow-prisoners attended mass. He received the eucharist in one kind, and addressed those present, expressing his regret for his share in putting down the mass, and his intention to have restored it, which, he said, "I could not do at once, because it was necessary for my ends to win the hearts of the Londoners, who love new things." Before evening it was announced to him that he was to die the next morning. He wrote in the most supplicatory terms to Gardiner and Arundel, but in vain. At the time announced, he was led, with Gates and Palmer, to the scaffold on Tower Hill. The duke, taking off his damask gown, leaned over the railing on the east side, and addressed the spectators. He ac-

knowledge his guilt, but said that he had been incited by others, whom he would not name; and exhorted the people to return to the ancient faith, without which they could not hope for peace. "By our creed," said he, "we are taught to say, 'I believe in the holy Catholic faith;' and such is my very belief, as my lord bishop here present can testify. All this I say, not from having been commanded so to do, but of my own free-will." He then prayed, and laid his head on the block. His two companions died with penitence and courage, but made no recantation.

Such was the merited end of this bold, bad man. His confession, it has been finely observed, "was not attended with those marks of penitence which might render it respectable: it served only to strip his conduct of any palliation which the mixture of a motive, in its general nature commendable, might have in some degree afforded." It matters little whether he were sincere or not: he certainly seems to have looked for a reprieve up to the moment when he laid his head on the block.*

The other prisoners, with the exception of Lady Jane and her husband, were set at liberty. But, notwithstanding all this clemency, the prospect for the Protestants was gloomy and cheerless. The queen made no secret of her attachment to the Church of Rome, though she still pretended that she would not interfere with the religion of the people. The Catholic priests, now imboldened, ventured to celebrate mass openly in some places. Bourne, one of the royal chaplains, when preaching at St. Paul's Cross, dared to attack what had been done in the late reign. The people became excited; a cry of "Pull him down!" was raised, stones were thrown, and some one flung a dagger, which hit one of the pillars of the pulpit. He might have lost his life but for Bradford and Rogers, two reformed preachers, who calmed the fury of the people, and conveyed him into St. Paul's school. The queen took advantage of this to forbid

* Foxe asserts that he had been promised a pardon.

public preaching, which had been the great weapon of the Reformers.

No one could plead better the rights of conscience in her own case during the late reign than Mary; but, in the case of her sister, she seems to have forgotten them all. Elizabeth found it necessary for her safety to attend mass; and she was even obliged to stoop, some time after, to the hypocrisy of writing to the emperor to send her a cross, chalice, and other things, for the celebration of mass in her private chapel.

Ridley was already in the Tower; and Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and others, were also in prison. Cranmer had hitherto been suffered to remain at Lambeth; but when the subdean Thorndon had the audacity to have mass celebrated in the cathedral of Canterbury, the primate felt it his duty to show that this was without his participation, and drew up a paper containing his sentiments on the mass. Bishop Scory, calling on him, saw it, and obtained a copy; and from this several other copies were made, one of which was publicly read in Cheapside. Cranmer was summoned before the council: he acknowledged the paper to be his, and said his intention had been to enlarge it, affix his seal to it, and put it upon the doors of St. Paul's and other churches. He was committed to the Tower on the 14th of September, on a charge of treason. Latimer had been sent thither on the preceding day for his "seditious demeanour," as it was termed. As the venerable man was led through Smithfield, he anticipated his fate, and said, "This place has long groaned for me." Most of the leading Protestants were now in prison; many had fled from the kingdom, and Peter Martyr and the other foreigners were ordered to depart. When the men of Suffolk sent to remind the queen of her promises, they met with insult; and one of them, named Dobbe, was set in the pillory. The intentions of the queen and her council could now be no secret to any one. When the news of her accession reached Rome, the pope instantly appointed Pole papal legate for Eng-

land; and, soon after, a Romish envoy, named Comendone, who had gone over to England, and had had private interviews with the queen, arrived with a letter to the pontiff, in her own handwriting, in which she engaged for the return of herself and her kingdom to obedience to the Holy See. Pole was impatient to proceed at once to England, but Gardiner feared he would precipitate matters too much. The emperor, too, apprehended his opposition in an affair he had much at heart, and impediments were accordingly thrown in his way.

The parliament which had been summoned met on the 5th of October. It is said, though without proof, that violence had been employed to procure a majority favourable to the court; but the court influence alone, added to the prejudices of a large number of the electors, the eagerness of the Catholics to obtain seats, and the fears or despondency of the Protestants, are fully sufficient to account for such a result. In open violation of the existing law, a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated in Latin before both houses; and when Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, refused to kneel at it, he was thrust out of the house. The Archbishop of York had been committed to the Tower the day before, for "divers his offences;" and Harley, the only remaining Protestant prelate, was not allowed to take his seat, because he was a married man.

The most important measures passed in this parliament were, an act abolishing every kind of treason not contained in the statute of 25 Edw. III., and all felonies that did not exist anterior to 1 Hen. VIII.; one declaring the queen's legitimacy, and annulling the divorce pronounced by Cranmer; and another repealing all the statutes of King Edward respecting religion. It was farther enacted, that, after the 20th of December next ensuing, no service should be allowed but that in use at the death of King Henry. An act of attainder was also passed against those already condemned for treason; and against Lady Jane Grey, her husband, Lord Ambrose Dudley, and Arch-

bishop Cranmer. These four were arraigned at Guildhall on the 13th of November, and they all pleaded guilty. Cranmer, urged, probably, by the natural love of life, wrote to the queen a full explanation of his conduct in the affair of altering the succession, and seeking for mercy; but he did not remind her, as he might have done, that she had been indebted to him for safety in her father's time. No notice, however, was taken of his application, though it does not appear that Mary had, as yet, any decided intention of taking his life.

The marriage of the queen was a subject which had for some time engaged the attention of herself and her council. The plan of a match between her and Cardinal Pole, whom the papal dispensation could restore to a secular condition, was again brought forward; but the cardinal was now fifty-four years of age, his health was delicate, his habits were bookish and studious, and, as the queen seems to have desired a younger consort, that project was abandoned. The general opinion was, that she would marry young Courtenay, whom she had created Earl of Devonshire, and whose mother she had selected for her bedchamber companion, according to the usage of the age. Of foreign princes, the King of Denmark, the Infant of Portugal, and others, were spoken of; but the Imperial ambassador had his directions to hint to her, as from himself, a match with the Prince of Spain, who was now in his twenty-seventh year, and a widower. She did not seem to give any attention at the time, but the idea sank in her mind. Her affection for Courtenay was observed visibly to decline; she began to talk of his youth and inexperience; and she felt, or affected, great horror at the excesses into which he ran, and which were but too natural to a young man long secluded on his first acquisition of liberty. Presently came a letter from the emperor himself, gallantly regretting that age and infirmity prevented him from offering her his own hand, but proposing to her that of the Prince of Spain. Her pride was gratified by the prospect of so high an alli-

ance ; her vanity, also, was flattered at her hand being sought by a man eleven years her junior ; and she secretly resolved on the Spanish match.

In the council, Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget were in favour of it, but Gardiner was opposed to it, as also were the bulk of the people, Catholics as well as Protestants ; and the French and Venetian ambassadors exerted themselves strenuously in favour of Courtenay. On the 30th October, the commons voted an address to the queen, praying that she would select a husband out of the nobility of the realm. But she would not be thwarted, and said she would prove a match for all the cunning of the chancellor. She sent that same night for the imperial ambassador ; and, taking him into her oratory, knelt at the foot of the altar before the hallowed wafer, and, having recited the hymn "*Veni, Creator Spiritus*," called God to witness that she took the Prince of Spain for her husband, and never would have any other. When the commons waited on her with the address, she told them that it was for her, not for them, to choose in this matter.

On the 2d of January, 1554, four ambassadors extraordinary arrived from the emperor, and made a formal offer to her of the Prince of Spain. Gardiner, who had given up his opposition when he found it useless, had already arranged the terms with the resident ambassador Renard, and he took all possible precautions for the honour and independence of England. The appointment to all offices was to rest with the queen, and to be confined to natives ; Philip was to bind himself by oath to maintain all orders of men in their rights and privileges ; he was not to take the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without that of the nobility ; nor claim a right to the succession if he survived her ; nor take from the kingdom ships, ammunition, or any of the crown jewels ; nor engage the nation in the war then existing between his father and France.

Gardiner recommended this treaty with all his eloquence to the lords of the council, and these were

willing auditors ; but to the people the Spanish match was exceedingly odious. Treaties and promises, they knew, were as easily broken as made ; and, supported by foreign troops, Philip might easily trample on the constitution, and establish the abominable tribunal of the Inquisition. These murmurs soon ripened into conspiracies, which were secretly encouraged by Noailles, the French ambassador. It was proposed to effect risings in various parts, to marry Courtenay to Elizabeth, and to establish them in Devonshire, where his family interest lay. The intention of the conspirators was to wait till the actual presence of Philip in the kingdom should have still farther excited the dissatisfaction of the people ; but Gardiner elicited the secret either from the fears or the simplicity of Courtenay ; and, the very next day, January 21st, finding that they were betrayed, they resolved to have recourse to arms, unprepared as they were, before they could be arrested. The Duke of Suffolk and his brothers, and the lords John and Thomas Grey, went down to Warwickshire to raise his tenantry there ; Sir James Croft went to the borders of Wales, where his estates lay, and Sir Peter Carew and others to Devonshire. But all their efforts to excite the people proved abortive. The duke, after being defeated in a skirmish near Coventry by Lord Huntingdon, who was sent in pursuit of him, was betrayed by one of his own tenants and recommitted to the Tower ; Croft was surprised and taken in his bed, before he could raise his tenantry ; and Carew fled to France on the approach of the Earl of Bedford.

In Kent affairs assumed a more serious aspect. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a man of great skill and courage, raised the standard of revolt at Maidstone on the 24th of January, and was instantly joined by fifteen hundred men, while five thousand more were ready to join him. He fixed his headquarters at the old castle of Rochester, and obtained cannon and ammunition from some ships that were lying in the river. The Duke of Norfolk, at the head of a part of the guards and five hundred Londoners, advanced to attack him ; but,

when orders were given to force the bridge, Bret, the commander of the Londoners, addressed his men, urging them not to fight against those who only sought to save them from the yoke of foreigners. A cry of "A Wyat! a Wyat!" was raised, and Wyat came out at the head of his cavalry: Norfolk and his officers fled towards Gravesend, and Wyat soon reached Deptford at the head of fifteen thousand men.

The council was now greatly alarmed for the personal safety of the queen. 'This, however, is one of the few moments in her life in which we can admire her: she exhibited all the courage of her race, and resolved boldly to face the danger; and, when the lord-mayor had called a meeting of the citizens, she entered Guildhall, sceptre in hand, followed by her ladies and officers of state, and addressed the assembly in such animated terms that the place resounded with acclamations. Twenty-five thousand of the citizens forthwith enrolled themselves for the protection of the city.

Wyat in the mean time was at Southwark, with a force diminished to two thousand men: for his followers slunk away when they discovered that the Londoners would oppose them. Finding they were exposed to the guns of the Tower, he led his soldiers up the river to Kingston; and, having repaired the bridge, which had been broken, he crossed and proceeded rapidly towards London, in the hope of surprising Ludgate before sunrise. But the carriage of one of his cannon happening to break, he most unwisely halted for an hour to repair it. This gave time for information to be conveyed to the court. The ministers on their knees implored the queen to take refuge in the Tower, but she scorned the timid counsel. A force of ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, under the Lords Pembroke and Clinton, was ready to oppose the rebels. At nine o'clock Wyat reached Hyde Park. Though exposed to the fire of the royal cannon at St. James's, he forced his way up Fleet-street with a few followers, and reached Ludgate, where, being refused admittance, he turned and

fought his way back to Temple Bar; but here, finding farther resistance hopeless, he surrendered to Sir Maurice Berkeley. His followers, in the mean time, had been entirely routed, one hundred of them being slain, and about four hundred made prisoners.

If Mary, on a former occasion, had neglected the advice of the emperor and acted with lenity, she now resolved to do so no longer. The very day after the capture of Wyatt, the 8th of February, she signed a warrant for the execution of "Guilford Dudley and his wife," as it was insultingly expressed. Feckenham, the former abbot of Westminster, was sent to endeavour to convert the Lady Jane to the Catholic faith, but all his arguments failed. On the morning appointed for the execution, the 12th of February, Lord Guilford, whom Jane had refused to see, lest their feelings should overcome their fortitude, was led out and beheaded on Tower Hill in the presence of a great multitude of people. Jane from her window saw him go forth, and she afterward beheld his bleeding trunk as it was brought back in a cart. Her own execution was to take place within the precincts of the Tower; either on account of her royal extraction, or more probably from fear of the effect which the sight of her youth and innocence might have on the minds of the spectators. She ascended the scaffold with a firm step; and then, addressing those present, she said that she was come there to die for the commission of an unlawful act, in taking what belonged to the queen; but added that, as to the desire or procurement of it, she washed her hands in innocency; and she called on them to bear witness that she died a true Christian, and hoped for salvation only through the blood of Jesus. She then knelt down and repeated the fifty-first psalm in English. As she was placing herself before the block, she said to the executioner, "I pray you, despatch me quickly." She then asked him, "Will you take it off before I lay me down?" "No, madam," replied he. Her eyes being bandaged, she groped about for the block, and, not finding it, she became a little agitated, and said, "What shall I do?"

where is it ? where is it ?" Her head was then guided to the right spot. She stretched forth her neck, saying, "Lord ! into thy hands I commend my spirit," and one blow terminated her life.*

Even the Romish historian remarks, that "it would *perhaps* have been to the honour of Mary" if she had abstained from this deed. A more humane and enlightened historian† says, "The history of tyranny affords no example of a female of seventeen, by the command of a female and a relation, put to death for acquiescence in the injunction of a father, sanctioned by the concurrence of all that the kingdom could boast, of what was illustrious in nobility, or grave in law, or venerable in religion. The example is the more affecting, as it is that of a person who exhibited a matchless union of youth and beauty with genius, with learning, with virtue, with piety ; whose affections were so warm, while her passions were so perfectly subdued. It was a death sufficient to honour and dishonour an age."‡

The Duke of Suffolk was executed shortly after. He met with less commiseration than he would have done had he not been regarded as the chief cause of his admirable daughter's death. He was a weak, well-meaning man, and seems to have been actuated more by religious feeling than by ambition. His

* The same day that Lady Jane Grey was executed, fifteen gallows' were erected in London, on which no less than fifty-two persons suffered. Hence it was called "*Black Monday*;" and the 12th of February was long remembered in England under that name.—*Am. Ed.*

† Mackintosh. Dr. Lingard, in his last edition, omits the *perhaps*, and altogether expresses himself in very creditable terms.

‡ Shortly before her death, this virtuous, beautiful, and highly accomplished lady composed a very affecting letter in Greek to her sister ; and, on the morning of her execution, she inscribed in her note book three different sentences, in Greek, Latin, and English, the last of which was in the following words : "If my fault deserved punishment, my youth, at least, and my imprudence were worthy of excuse. God and posterity will show me favour." "Another proof," remarks the historian, "of those accomplishments which astonished the learned of Europe, and admirable as a token that neither grief nor danger could ruffle her thoughts, nor lower the sublimity of her highest sentiments."—*Am. Ed.*

brother, Lord Thomas Grey, a bolder man, shared his fate. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was the most fortunate of those who were brought to trial; for he proved to the satisfaction of the jury that his case did not come within the statute of Edward III., and they acquitted him. But the court had no idea of being balked of its prey by the consciences of jurors. They were all summoned before the council, committed to prison, and made to pay fines of from 1000 marks to 2000*l.* each. This made other juries more pliant, and Sir John Throgmorton and others were found guilty at once. Wyatt was kept in reserve for some time, and efforts were made to prevail on him to accuse the Lady Elizabeth and Courtenay. He partly yielded; but what he had been induced to say being not deemed sufficient, he was sent to the scaffold. At his execution on the 11th of April, he declared, it is said, that, influenced by a promise of life, he had been induced to charge them falsely with a knowledge of his enterprise.

According to the accounts of both the French and the Imperial ambassadors, upward of four hundred persons were hung. Our own writers would seem to limit this number to little more than sixty.* On the 20th of February four hundred others were led, coupled together, and with halters round their necks, to the tiltyard, where the queen from her gallery pronounced their pardon, and the poor men went away shouting "God save Queen Mary!"

But the great object of Mary and her council was to get the Lady Elizabeth into their toils, as the emperor strongly urged her execution. In the beginning of December she had with difficulty obtained per-

* These conflicting accounts may perhaps be reconciled. Noailles, the French resident, writes, on the 12th of March, that above 400 had been hung, beside 50 captains and gentlemen; Renard, the imperial resident, on the 17th of February, that 200 men, taken at the fight at St. James's, had been executed, with their officers; and on the 24th, that 100 had suffered in Kent. Stow says, that, on the 14th and 15th of February, about fifty of Wyatt's faction were hanged. May not these latter have been the 50 officers mentioned by the ambassadors?

mission to retire to her house at Ashridge, near Berkhamstead. It is very probable that she had received some intimation of the designs of the conspirators, and that, knowing her life to be in constant danger from the bigotry of her sister, she may have secretly approved of them; but there is no reason to suppose that she ever committed herself by openly consenting to them. Yet, whether the court had evidence against her or not, the very moment Wyatt's insurrection was suppressed, a body of five hundred cavalry was sent to Ashridge, whose commanders had orders to bring her up, "quick or dead." She was at this time very ill, and had retired to rest when they arrived at ten at night. She had requested not to be disturbed till morning; but the officers insisted on seeing her immediately, and followed her lady into her chamber. Two of the court physicians having reported that she might travel without danger to her life, next morning at nine o'clock she was placed in a litter, and her weakness was such that she did not reach London till the fifth day. As she passed along the streets she caused the litter to be opened, and appeared clad in white; and though pale with disease, still displaying that air of majesty and dignity which nature had impressed on her features. She was kept for a fortnight a close prisoner at her own residence, when it was determined to send her to the Tower. She wrote to her sister, asserting her innocence in the strongest terms, and claiming a personal interview on the grounds of a promise which she had made her. Her letter, however, was unheeded; and on Palm-Sunday she was led to a barge, in order to embark for the Tower. As she passed along she cast her eyes up to the windows, hoping to see her sister; but the queen was probably engaged at her devotions. She ventured to say that she wondered the nobility of the realm would suffer her to be led into captivity. She objected to landing at 'Traitors' Stairs, but one of the lords said she must not choose, and offered her his cloak, as it was raining. She flung it from her, and stepped out, saying, "Here lands as true a subject,

being a prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs. Before thee, oh God! I speak it, having no other friend but thee alone." The warders who came to receive her knelt down and prayed for her safety, for which they were dismissed the next day. She passed on, and sat down on a stone to rest herself. The lieutenant begged of her to come in out of the rain; she replied, "Better sitting here than in a worse place." She was then led to her apartment; the doors were locked and bolted, and she remained there to meditate on the fate of her guiltless mother and the innocent Jane Grey; a fate she had little doubt awaited herself.

Mary, in whose bosom fanaticism had stifled all natural feeling, was prepared to shed her sister's blood; the emperor, acting perhaps on the principles of his grandfather in the case of the Earl of Warwick, was urgent to have her executed if possible, and Arundel and Paget were for the same course; but Gardiner saw plainly that neither she nor Courtenay could be brought within the provisions of 25 Edw. III., then the only law of treason. It may be that motives of humanity had some influence on the chancellor's mind, but there is nothing to prove it. The queen feared to take on herself the responsibility of executing her sister contrary to law; and the rigour of Elizabeth's confinement was so far relaxed that she was allowed to walk in a small garden within the Tower. On the 19th of May Sir Henry Bedingfield* came with one hundred soldiers and conveyed her to Richmond, and thence to Woodstock Castle, where she was confined as strictly as when in the Tower. Courtenay, who was a close prisoner in this fortress, was sent on the 22d to Fotheringay.

* Elizabeth was treated with great rigour while under the custody of this man; but, much to her honour, when she became queen, she repressed her resentment, and merely forbade his appearance at court; addressing him, at the same time, in these words: "God forgive you, as we do; and if we have any person whom we would have hardly handled and straightly kept, then we will send for you."—*Am. Ed.*

The queen, in the mean time, did not lie on a bed of roses. She was in a state of constant apprehension; distrusted those even who were about her; and did not venture to move without a large body of guards. She is said to have had thoughts of ordering a general muster of the people, and then seizing their arms, and depositing them in the fortresses. At this time great numbers of the gentry, apprehensive of the persecution which they saw coming, sold their properties and went over to France.

Parliament assembled on the 4th of April; a sum of 400,000 crowns,* sent for the purpose by the emperor, is said to have been employed to gain over the members; and Mary, to quiet the apprehensions which might be felt about the church lands, resumed the title of supreme head of the church. The object proposed was to get a bill passed, enabling the queen to dispose of the crown and appoint a successor. But the parliament easily saw who the successor would be; and that, in her blind folly and hatred of her sister the queen would make England but a province of the Spanish monarchy. All the arts of Gardiner therefore failed: they would not even make it treason to compass the death of the queen's husband. Bills for reviving the law of the Six Articles, and other statutes against heresy, were introduced to no purpose; and the queen, finding the parliament not to answer her ends, dissolved it.

If we may believe the malicious, but probably true statements of the French ambassador, the queen manifested her impatience for the arrival of her young husband in a very ridiculous manner. She frequently complained of his delay, regarding it as intentional; and remarked that, though she brought him a kingdom as her dower, he had not favoured her with a single letter; and, as she viewed her ordinary and careworn features in her glass, she feared lest she might fail of

* The amount is stated by Burnet at 1,200,000 crowns, or 400,000 pounds in English money; and he says that this is "the first instance of any rumour of the corruption of parliament."—*Am. Ed.*

inspiring him with affection. At length, to her great joy, on the 19th of July, Philip landed at Southampton. He was received by the lords of the council, and presented with the order of the Garter. After a short delay he rode to Winchester, where he was met by the anxious queen; and, on the feast of St. James, the patron saint of Spain, the 25th, the marriage ceremony was performed by Gardiner, bishop of that see. The royal pair remained there for some days, and then proceeded to Windsor. They visited the metropolis, where they were received with those very dubious marks of affection—shows and pageants; but the character of neither was calculated to gain the popular favour. The queen was anxious to have her husband all to herself, while his Spanish pride contributed to fence him round with pomp and etiquette.

But the object nearest the queen's heart was to bring her kingdom again into the bosom of the Romish church. As this could never be effected, so long as the nobility and gentry had to fear for their property in the church lands, the pope finally yielded to the representations of Gardiner, and signed a bull, empowering the legate to "give, alienate, and transfer" to the present possessors, all the property taken from the church in the two late reigns. It was now deemed advisable to convene a new parliament; and, as the queen knew she might depend on the compliance of the degenerate or upstart nobles (who never dreamed of opposing the royal will, no matter who possessed the crown), her sole care was to obtain a pliant house of commons. Orders were therefore sent to the sheriffs, to have only those who adhered to the ancient faith elected; the Protestants were at the same time dispirited; and the result was, that a house, containing probably not a single one of them, was returned. On the first of November the parliament was opened by a speech from the chancellor, in the presence of the king and queen, "whose expectation," he said, "it was, that they would accomplish the reunion of the realm with the Catholic church." One of the first measures for this purpose was to intro-

duce a bill for reversing the attainder of Cardinal Pole. It was passed, of course, without hesitation.

The cardinal, in the mean time, was on his way to England; and Lord Paget, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir William Cecil had been sent to meet him at Brussels. At Dover he was received by the Bishop of Ely and Lord Montague; and, as he advanced, the gentry of the country joined him on horseback. He entered a barge at Gravesend, where the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Bishop of Durham presented him with the act reversing his attainder; and then, fixing his silver cross in the prow, he proceeded to Westminster. The chancellor received him as he landed; the king at the palace gate, and the queen at the head of the staircase. After a short stay he retired to Lambeth, and occupied the archiepiscopal palace, which had been prepared for his abode.

Four days after the legate returned to court, whither the lords and commons had been summoned. He thanked them for reversing his attainder, and assured them of his readiness to aid in restoring them to the unity of the church. They then retired, and the next day they unanimously voted a petition to the king and queen, expressing their sorrow for the defection of the realm, and hoping, through their mediation, to be again received into the bosom of the church. A gracious reply could not be withheld. On the following day the queen came and sat on her throne, the king on her left and the legate on her right. The chancellor read aloud the petition; when the king and queen spoke to the cardinal, who arose, and, after addressing the assembly at some length, solemnly absolved them and the whole realm, and restored them to the holy church.* The members then rose and followed the

* A part of the cardinal's address on this occasion was in these words: "I have come to inscribe you denizens of heaven, and to restore you to that Christian greatness which you had forfeited by renouncing your fealty [*that is, to the pope*]; and to reap so great a blessing, it only remains that you should repeal the laws which have been enacted against the holy see, and by which you have cut yourselves off from the body of the faithful."—*Am. Ed.*

king and queen into the chapel, where the *Te Deum* was chanted. The next Sunday the legate made his public entrance into the city. Gardiner preached at St. Paul's cross, lamenting his conduct in the time of Henry VIII., and exhorting all to follow his example, and repent and amend.

The present parliament readily passed the bill against heresy, and others which had been rejected by the last. They also made it treason to compass or attempt the life of Philip during his union with the queen; but they, even, would go no farther, refusing to consent so much as to his coronation. An act, however, was passed, giving him the guardianship of the queen's expected issue, "if it should happen to her otherwise than well."

Mary actually fancied at this time that her ardent desire to become a mother was about to be gratified. The council wrote to Bonner, to order *Te Deum* to be sung in St. Paul's and the other churches. Prayers were composed for the occasion, one of which ran partly thus: "Give therefore unto thy servants Philip and Mary a male issue, which may sit in the seat of thy kingdom. Give unto our queen an infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, in wit notable and excellent." Public rejoicings were made, and the household of the prince (for so it was to be) was arranged. But it proved to be mere illusion.

To ingratiate himself with the nation, Philip caused those who were in confinement in the Tower for treason to be liberated. Through his means the same favour was extended to Courtenay. But his most popular act was obtaining pardon for the Princess Elizabeth. As we have seen, she was now a prisoner at Woodstock; and Sir Henry Bedingfield proved so rigorous a jailer, that it is said, hearing one day the blithe song of a milkmaid, she could not refrain from wishing that she were a milkmaid too, that she might carol thus gay and free from care. Her situation was a precarious one: as the daughter of Anne Boleyn, and as a Protestant in her heart, she was an object of aversion to the queen, who, according to Elizabeth's

own declarations, actually thirsted for her blood. Gardiner also is said to have been urgent for her execution. He was accustomed, we are told, when the punishment of heretics was spoken of, to say, "We may shake off the leaves and lop the branches; but if we do not destroy the root, the hope of heretics (i. e., the princess), we do nothing." And he was right; for, had she been cut off, and had the Queen of Scots succeeded, it is impossible to say what might have been the injury to the Reformation. The Spanish match alone saved Elizabeth; for it then became the interest of one who had the power to do it to protect her. Nobler motives, too, may have actuated Philip: he may have shrunk from the idea of seeing the blood of a princess shed to gratify revenge and bigotry. Such motives operated, at least, on his Spanish attendants. Foxe tells us, that when Lord Paget said that the king would not have any quiet commonwealth in England unless her head were stricken from her shoulders, the Spaniards answered, "God forbid that their king and master should have that mind to consent to such a mischief;" and he adds, that they never ceased urging Philip till he had her released from prison. To this is to be added Elizabeth's extreme prudence, which prevented her enemies from gaining any advantage over her, and her feigning to be a Catholic. Something also must be ascribed to the mild temper of Cardinal Pole, his gentlemanly feeling, his respect for royal and kindred blood, and his influence over the queen.

Hatfield was now assigned to Elizabeth as a residence, under the charge of Sir Thomas Pope, a gentleman of honour and humanity; and she was frequently received at court. It was proposed to marry her to some foreign prince, but she steadfastly declined all the offers made to her. She spent her time chiefly in reading the classics with the learned Roger Ascham.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARY (CONTINUED).

1555-1558.

Proceedings against the Reformers.—Martyrdom of Rogers and Hooper.—Proceedings against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer.—Martyrdom of the last two.—Death of Gardiner.—Martyrdom of Cranmer.—Pole made Primate.—Battle of St. Quintin.—Loss of Calais.—Death of the Queen and of the Cardinal.

THE year 1555 opened with dismal prospects for the Protestants. The queen had already, even before the parliament met, made this reply to the lords of the council in writing: "Touching the punishment of heretics, methinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the mean time to *do justice to* [i. e., execute] such as by learning would seem to deceive the simple; and the rest so to be used, that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion; by which they shall both understand the truth, and beware not to do the like. And especially within London I would wish none *to be burned* without some of the council's presence, and both there and everywhere good sermons at the same time." On the 23d of January all the bishops went to Lambeth to receive the legate's blessing and directions. Pole, whose natural temper was mild and whose character was virtuous, desired them to return to their sees and endeavour to win back their flocks by gentle methods. On the 25th (the Conversion of St. Paul) there was a solemn procession through London. First went one hundred and sixty priests, all in their copes;* then came eight bishops, and lastly Bonner, bearing the host; thanksgivings were offered for being reconciled again to the church; bonfires

* The peculiar kind of cloak worn by the Romish priests in their religious ministrations.—*Am. Ed.*

blazed throughout the night, and the day was appointed to be annually observed, under the name of the *Feast of Reconciliation*. On the 28th, the chancellor, aided by the bishops Bonner, Tunstall, Thirlby, Aldrich, and other prelates, with the Duke of Norfolk and the lords Montague and Wharton, opened his court under the legatine authority for the trial of heretics at St. Mary Overy's in Southwark.

The late bishops Hooper and Ferrar, and Rogers, Taylor, and some other divines, had been brought on the 22d before the chancellor and council, and had to undergo the ill language and browbeating of Gardiner; but they persisted in firmly maintaining their principles. Hooper and Rogers were now put on their trial. The former was charged with marrying, though a priest; with maintaining that marriages may be legally dissolved for fornication and adultery, and that persons so released may marry again; and with denying transubstantiation. He admitted the truth of all. Of the last he said, "I have done so, and I now affirm, that the very natural body of Christ is not really and substantially present in the sacrament of the altar. I assert, moreover, that the mass is idolatrous, and the iniquity of the devil."

Rogers was asked if he would accept the queen's mercy and be reconciled to the Catholic Church. He replied that he had never departed from that church, and that he would not purchase the queen's clemency by relapsing into anti-Christian doctrines. Gardiner charged him with insulting his sovereign. "The queen's majesty, God save her grace! would have been well enough," said Rogers, "if it had not been for your counsels." "The queen went before me," said Gardiner; "it was her own motion." "I never can nor will believe it," was the reply. Bishop Aldrich then said, "We of the prelacy will bear witness to my lord chancellor in this." "Yea," replied Rogers, "that I believe well:" which reply caused a laugh among the by-standers. Gardiner now made a long speech; after which he and his brethren rose and took off their caps, and he asked the fatal ques-

tion, "Do you believe that the body of the Lord is really present in the sacrament?" He answered that he did not. The passing of sentence was deferred till the next day, under the pretence of charity; and the two prisoners were conducted to the Counter, in Southwark. The next morning they were brought up again; and, as they refused to recant, they were condemned on the charges already mentioned. Rogers requested that his poor wife, being a stranger (she was a German), might come and speak with him while he yet lived. "She is not thy wife," said Gardiner. "Yea, but she is, my lord," replied Rogers, "and hath been so these eighteen years." His request was refused. The two prisoners were then committed to the sheriffs, with directions to keep them in the Clink till night, and then to transfer them to Newgate. In order that the city might be enveloped in darkness, orders were given that the costermongers,* who then, as now, sat with candles at their stalls, should put them out; but the people stood with lights at their doors, and greeted, prayed for, and applauded the confessorst† as they passed.

Some days after Bonner came to Newgate, and in the chapel of the prison performed the ceremony of degrading them: on which occasion he again rejected the request of Rogers to be allowed to see his wife. On the 4th of February Rogers was led forth to be burned at Smithfield. Immense crowds were assembled in the streets, who cheered and applauded him as he went along, repeating the fifty-first Psalm. Among them he beheld his wife and ten children, one of them an infant at the breast. At the stake a pardon was offered him if he would recant; but he steadily refu-

* Or *costard-mongers*, apple-sellers—costard being the name of a particular kind of apple.—*Am. Ed.*

† This name was given to those who perilled their lives for the faith in the earliest periods of the Christian Church. In speaking of the persecutions in the first century, Mosheim says, that "those who were bold to confess Christ before the magistrates, and for his sake incurred the loss of health, or goods, or honours, were denominated *confessors*."—See Mosheim's *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History*, i., 54, Harpers' edition.—*Am. Ed.*

sed it, and died with constancy, England's first Protestant martyr.

As we shall unhappily have more of these horrible *autos-da-fe** to narrate, we will here describe the manner of them. A large stake or post was fixed in the ground, with a ledge or step to it, on which the victim, standing stripped to his shirt, was placed, that he might be visible to all the spectators. He was fastened to the stake with chains, but his arms were left at liberty. Fagots and bundles of reeds were then piled around him, to which fire was set, and he was thus consumed.

The next day, the 5th of February, Hooper, whom it was imprudently determined to burn in his own diocese, was taken to near St. Dunstan's, in Fleet-street, where he was committed to the charge of six men of the royal guard, who were to conduct him to Gloucester. Having eaten a hearty breakfast at the Angel Inn, St. Clement's, he mounted the horse prepared for him. To prevent his being recognised on the road, he was made to wear a hood under his hat, which covered the greater part of his face; and he was never taken to any of the inns at which he had been in the habit of stopping. His coming being known, a large multitude of people met him within a mile of Gloucester, loudly lamenting his fate. His guards took him to a private house, and kindly allowed him to pass the next day in solitary devotion. Sir Anthony Kingston, one of his former hearers, and now one of those appointed to conduct his martyrdom, came in and saluted him; but he was so absorbed in prayer that he did not hear him. Kingston burst into tears, and, when he at length drew his attention, urged him to recant and save his life, but his arguments were of no avail; and he retired, thanking God that he had known such a man, who had been the means of reclaiming him from sin. In the evening the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen came to receive him from

* A Portuguese expression signifying *act of faith*, but applied to those horrible ceremonies of burning heretics by order of the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal.—*Am. Ed.*

his guards. They saluted him kindly, and were going to take him away to the city jail ; but the guards, whose hearts he had won on the journey, interceded, offering to be answerable for him if left for this last night in his present lodging, to which the magistrates consented. He retired to rest at five o'clock ; and, having slept soundly for some hours, arose and employed himself in fervent devotion.

At nine the next morning, the 9th of February, the sheriffs came with armed men to conduct him to the pyre. He walked between them, leaning on a staff, on account of the sciatica which had come on him in prison. As it was market-day, about seven thousand people were assembled ; but strict orders from the council not to permit him to address the multitude had been received.* The stake had been fixed near a great elm-tree, in front of the cathedral where he was wont to preach. The spectators filled the place around, the houses, and the branches of the tree, and the priests of the college stood in the chamber over the gate. As soon as he arrived at the stake he knelt down and prayed ; when Lord Chandos, who presided at this martyrdom, observing those who were nearest listening attentively to his prayers, ordered them to remove to a greater distance. A box containing his pardon was set before the victim. "If you love my soul, away with it !" said he, repeating the words. "There is no remedy, then," said Chandos ; "despatch, quickly." Hooper then threw off his gown, desiring the sheriffs to return it to his host, to whom it belonged. He would fain have retained his hose and doublet ; but the sheriffs, whose perquisites they were to be, would not suffer him, "such was their greediness." When he was fixed to the stake, one of his guards came and kindly fastened some bags of gunpowder about him to shorten his torments. The pyre was then inflamed ; but most of the wood was green, and the wind blew the flames from him. At

* The martyrs were usually enjoined not to speak. Foxe says that the council used to threaten to cut out their tongues if they did not pledge themselves to be silent.

length it blazed up; but it sank again, leaving him all scorched; and even the explosion of the powder did him little injury. His sufferings lasted for three quarters of an hour, during which he was seen to move his lips constantly in prayer, and to beat his breast, which he continued to do with one hand after his other arm had dropped off. At length his agonies came to their close.*

Our limits do not allow us to enter into the interesting details of the martyrdom of Taylor, Saunders, Bradford, and others, who at this time sealed their testimony to the truth with their blood. Suffice it to say, that they all died with the utmost constancy, especially those who were married: thus nobly refuting the slanderous assertions of their adversaries, that sensual enjoyment was the bait which allured them to the Reformed creed.†

It is remarkable, that, after the condemnation of Hooper and Rogers, the chancellor sat no more, but resigned the odious office to Bonner, of whom it has been truly said by Mackintosh, that he "seems to have been of so detestable a nature, that if there had been no persecution, he must have sought other means of venting his cruelty." What Gardiner's motive could have been it is not easy to say: perhaps, as small

* The motives for sending Hooper to suffer at Gloucester undoubtedly were, to shake his constancy, and to inspire with the greater terror those over whom he had the spiritual charge. Very different from this, however, was the result. His people were doubly confirmed in their faith by witnessing the heroic martyrdom of their bishop, while it was his greatest consolation thus to die among them; and Burnet states that he continued to exhort them till his tongue was so swollen with the intensity of his sufferings that he had no longer the power of utterance, and that his words were treasured up as being very precious in their memories.—*Am. Ed.*

† "The married clergy," says Southey, "were observed to suffer with most alacrity. They were bearing testimony to the validity and sanctity of their marriage; the honour of their wives and children was at stake; the desire of leaving them an unsullied name and a virtuous example combined with a sense of religious duty; and thus the heart derived strength from the very ties which, in other circumstances, might have weakened it."—*Am. Ed.*

matters often produce great effects, it was the shame and annoyance caused by the constant references of his victims to his own writings and oaths that induced him to devolve the task on one untroubled either by shame or compunction. Certainly it was not humanity that actuated him. Another notable circumstance is this : On the 10th of February, Alfonso de Castro, a Franciscan friar, and confessor to the king, preached a sermon, in which he condemned these sanguinary proceedings in very strong terms, as contrary both to the text and spirit of the Gospel. Whether the friar, in doing so, acted from conscience or by the directions of Philip, cannot be ascertained. If the latter were the cause, it must have been that Philip, seeing the horror caused by these barbarous executions, and knowing that they would be laid to his charge, and that he would thus lose all chance of obtaining the government of England, took this mode of clearing himself. But the stratagem, if it was such, was of no avail : in a few weeks the piles were rekindled ; and every one knew that he had such influence over the queen, that he could have ended the persecution at his pleasure.*

The possessors of the church lands, as we have seen, seem to have cared little about religion or conscience in comparison with their houses and manors ; but they now ran some risk of seeing their rights of possession disputed. A splendid embassy, headed by Lord Montague, Thirlby bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Karne, was sent to Rome to lay the submission of England before the papal throne. But, while they were on the road, Pope Pius died ; and his successor, Marcellus, an excellent man, followed him to the tomb within a few days after his elevation. The choice of the college now fell on the Cardinal Caraffa, a man hitherto distinguished for the austerity of his manners.

* It would seem to be no more than justice here to state, that, according to the testimony of Protestant writers, many of the Roman Catholic prelates protested strenuously against these barbarous proceedings ; and the detestable Bonner was undoubtedly the principal instigator to these bloody acts.—*Am. Ed.*

But, when invested with pontifical power under the name of Paul IV., he displayed his real character; and in pomp, arrogance, and nepotism he yielded to none of his predecessors. This haughty pontiff condescended to forgive the English nation the sin of their defection, and confirmed the erection of Ireland into a kingdom; but he spoke strongly of the guilt of detaining any portion of the church property, and seemed determined to insist on its restitution. His pride, however, yielded, for a time at least, to considerations of expediency.

While England was thus brought again within the papal fold, and the tortures of the heretics proved how sincerely her government had imbibed the spirit of Rome, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer lay in prison, expecting the fate which they knew awaited them. In the beginning of March in the preceding year they had been carried to Oxford, where they were required to dispute with a commission, presided over by Dr. Weston, on the subjects of the eucharist and the mass. This disputation lasted for three days. The prisoners met with little but sophistry, insult, and derision; and, as they steadfastly maintained their opinions, they were condemned as heretics, "themselves, their fautors" (supporters) "and patrons." A grand mass was celebrated on the following Sunday, to which succeeded a procession, Weston carrying the consecrated wafer under a canopy. The commissioners then left Oxford; Cranmer, being regarded probably as an attainted traitor, was confined in the common jail named Bocardo, while the other two prelates were kept in separate houses.

As there was no law at that time by which deniers of the real presence could be burned, the government was obliged to wait till parliament might arm them with powers for the purpose. The prelates were therefore left in their prisons till the autumn of the following year, 1555, when Brookes, bishop of Gloucester, came down by commission from the legate, as papal sub-delegate, attended by two civilians, Martin and Storey, as the royal proctors. He opened his

commission on the 12th of September, in St. Mary's Church, seated on a scaffold ten feet high above the high altar. Cranmer was led in, habited in his doctor's dress: he took no notice of Brookes, but saluted the royal proctors. Brookes remarked to him that his present office entitled him to more respect. Cranmer replied that he meant no personal disrespect to him, but that he had solemnly sworn never to readmit the Bishop of Rome's authority into the realm. Brookes then addressed him, charging him with heresy, perjury, treason, and adultery. Martin followed in the same strain. Cranmer, being permitted to enter on his defence, knelt down and repeated the Lord's prayer. He then rose, and, having recited the creed, proceeded to deny the authority of the pope, and to inveigh against the practice of saying prayers in a foreign language. Speaking of his book on the eucharist, he maintained that it was conformable to the decisions of the church for the first thousand years. "If from any doctor who wrote within that period," said he, "a passage can be brought proving the authorized prevalence of a belief in the corporeal presence, I will give over." He objected to the witnesses who appeared against him, as being perjured men, who had previously sworn to renounce the pope. The next day he was cited to appear in person before the pope within eighty days, and was then sent back to prison.

On the 30th of September Brookes sat again, aided by White of Lincoln and Holiman of Bristol. Ridley was brought before them. He took off his cap, but when the commission in the name of the pope and legate was read, he put it on again. For this he was remonstrated with; and, on the whole, was treated with civility. Five articles, two of which related to transubstantiation and the mass, were offered to him to subscribe. He refused, and repeated his protest against the authority of the court. Ridley was then removed, and Latimer was brought in. The venerable man was clad in a threadbare frieze gown, fastened around his hips by a common leathern gir-

dle : he had a nightcap on his head, covered by a kerchief, over which was a tradesman's cap, with flaps buttoned under his chin. His Testament was suspended from his girdle, and his spectacles from his neck ; and he held his hat in his hand. White treated him with courtesy, and exhorted him to be reconciled to the church : Latimer, having obtained permission to sit, proceeded to refute his arguments, quoting from a sermon lately published an instance of the manner in which Scripture was perverted in support of the doctrines of Rome. "What clipping of God's coin is this !" added he, in his usual manner. These words occasioned a laugh, which increased when it was intimated that Brookes himself was the preacher. "Was it yours, my lord ?" said Latimer : "indeed, I know not your lordship, neither did I ever see you before, neither yet see you now, through the brightness of the sun shining between you and me." The merriment in the assembly was redoubled at this simple address ; but Latimer, who felt its unsuitableness to the occasion, gravely said, "Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter ; I answer upon life and death. 'Wo unto you that laugh now, for ye shall mourn and weep !'" After some farther conversation he was required to subscribe the five articles. He refused, protesting at the same time, like Ridley, against the authority of the court.

The next morning Ridley was again brought before the court. He remained covered, but his cap was taken off by order of Bishop White. He gave in a written answer on the subject of the five articles ; and, having again refused to subscribe them, he was excommunicated as an impugner of the real presence, transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass. "Old father Latimer" was next brought in, and was exhorted to return into the bosom of the Catholic Church ; whereupon he asserted that he never was out of it, and reprobated those who artfully confounded it with the Romish Church, which last, he said, ought rather to be called diabolical. He then refused to subscribe, and was also excommunicated.

Some days after the mockery of degradation was undergone by the two martyrs. When Ridley was forced to put on the Romish vestments, he said, alluding to the indignities offered to Christ, "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his Lord." After it was over he handed Brookes a supplication, which he requested him to present to the queen. It was on behalf of some tenants of the see of London, to whom he had given leases, but which Bonner refused to allow ; and likewise of his sister, whose husband he had placed in a situation of which Bonner had deprived him. At the name of his sister tears checked his utterance. "This is nature that moveth me," said he, "but I have now done."

The following morning, the 16th of October, the martyrs were led from their prisons to the pyre, in the old city ditch, opposite Baliol College. As Ridley passed by Bocardo he looked up, hoping to catch a last view of Cranmer ; but he was at that moment engaged in an argument with De Soto, a Spanish Dominican, and some others. Cranmer afterward, it is said, went up to the roof of the prison, whence he had a view of the pyre ; and on his knees, with outspread hands, prayed to God to give them constancy of faith and hope in their agony. When the prisoners arrived at the fatal spot, they embraced each other, and Ridley said, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the fire, or else strengthen us to abide it." They kissed their stakes, knelt and prayed, and then conversed together. Dr. Smyth (a man who always thought with those in power) then mounted a pulpit and preached from this text : "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing ;" and the sort of charity which his discourse contained may be easily conjectured. When he had concluded, Ridley craved permission of Lord Williams of Thane, who presided, to make a reply. Permission was refused, and they were ordered to make ready for death. Ridley distributed parts of his clothes and various little articles among his friends. When Latimer was stripped of

his outer garments he appeared arrayed in a new shroud ; and he who had lately been enfeebled by age and infirmity now "stood bolt upright," says Foxe, "as comely a father as one might lightly behold." As soon as they were fastened to the stakes, Ridley's brother-in-law attached bags of gunpowder to them. A lighted fagot was then thrown at their feet. "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley," then said Latimer, "and play the man. We shall this day, by God's grace, kindle in England such a flame as I trust shall never be put out." He washed his hands, as it were, in the flames, and then stroked his face with them, crying, "Father of Heaven, receive my soul!" and speedily expired. Ridley's sufferings were greatly protracted : the bottom of the pyre being composed of furze, with fagots heaped upon it, the flame beneath was at first strong, and it burned his lower extremities, but it then subsided. In agony he exclaimed, "Oh, for Christ's sake, let the fire come unto me!" His brother-in-law heaped on more fagots, and the victim became enveloped in a dense smoke, when he kept crying, "I cannot burn ; oh, let the fire come unto me!" Some of the fagots being then removed, the flame sprang up, the smoke cleared away, and it was seen that on one side his shirt was not even discoloured. He now turned himself eagerly to the flame, the gunpowder exploded, and he ceased to live.

The arch-persecutor Gardiner soon followed his victims to the tomb. He had of late been suffering from disease : on the 21st of October, however, when the parliament met, he addressed it, and displayed even more than his usual powers. But the effort was too much for him ; and he returned to his house very ill, where he died on the 12th of November. He is said to have shown some penitence ; for, on our Saviour's passion being read to him, when they came to Peter's denial, he bade them stop there, for, said he, "I have denied with Peter, I have gone out with Peter, but I have not yet wept bitterly with Peter : " words, however, somewhat ambiguous. He was, as his whole life shows, a worldly-minded, ambitious man, of unscrupulous

pulous conscience, proud and arrogant, false and artful. The Reformers charged him with looseness and incontinence of living. Still he was an able statesman, and there is something not unworthy of respect in his conduct during the late reign.

The parliament, owing either to the want of Gardiner to manage it, or the horror caused by the late sanguinary proceedings, or aversion to the Spanish alliance, was much less compliant than was desired. The queen's zeal had already led her to give back to the church such portions of its lands as were in the possession of the crown; but she wished to do more, and to restore the tenths, first-fruits, etc., which had been transferred from the pope to Henry VIII. by the act which made him supreme head of the church. This measure passed the lords without opposition; but the resistance to it in the commons was strenuous, the numbers being 193 for, and 126 against it. As a revenue of £60,000 (\$288,000) a year was thus abandoned, the commons were naturally indignant, as being called on to grant considerable supplies. "What justice is there," said they, "in taxing the subject to relieve the sovereign's necessities, when she refuses to avail herself of funds legally at her disposal?" The ministers were finally obliged to be content with much less than they had originally demanded. The commons also refused to pass a bill of penalties against the Duchess of Suffolk, and those who had sought refuge abroad against persecution; and another to disable certain persons from acting as justices of peace: for it was plainly perceived that their aversion to the sanguinary measures of the government was their offence. Parliament was dissolved on the 9th of December.

When Philip found that there remained little or no hope of offspring from his marriage with the queen, and saw the utter impossibility of his ever acquiring the affections of the nation, he readily complied with his father's desire that he should return to Flanders. He took his leave of the queen on the 4th of September, and on the 25th of the following month the em-

peror made to him the famous resignation of his dominions.* Mary, in the mean time, beguiled the tedium of his absence by persecuting her heretical subjects, and by re-establishing the friars in their houses. The Grey Friars were replaced at Greenwich, the Carthusians at Shene, and the Brigittins† at Sion. Westminster again became an abbey, and the house of the Knights of St. John rose from its ruins. She doubtless, in her blind fanaticism, reckoned it as not her least merit in the sight of God, that, in the course of this year, not less than sixty-seven impugners of the real presence, of whom four were bishops and fifteen were priests, had perished in the flames.

Cranmer still lay in prison. He had written a very manly letter to the queen, wherein he stated his reasons for denying the pope's authority. To this, by her direction, Pole wrote a reply; and it was in his usual vague, declamatory style, well seasoned with invective, but containing a memorable attestation of Cranmer's merciful exercise of his archiepiscopal authority. "Nor does it at all avail," says he, "to excuse you, that you have slaughtered no one, but have been benign and gentle to all: for I hear this asserted by some. But these know not what they say; nor do you, perhaps, know whether you have slain any one, because you did not enter Christ's fold with this design; nor, after you entered it, are conscious to

* The love of power is so inherent in the human mind, that instances of its voluntary relinquishment are exceedingly rare. The case of Charles V., here referred to, is undoubtedly the most remarkable in history. He was Emperor of Germany, King of Spain and the Indies, of the Netherlands, Naples, and Hungary, Duke of Milan, &c., and all these vast possessions he of his own free-will surrendered (reserving to himself nothing more than an annual pension of one hundred thousand ducats), and ended his days in a monastery in Spain. Another instance of the voluntary abdication of a throne was that of Christina, queen of Sweden, and daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus, in the 17th century, and which was shortly after succeeded by that of John Casimir, of the crown of Poland. These are the most striking of the few examples of this kind mentioned in history.—*Am. Ed.*

† So named from Brigitta, a Swedish lady, who was the founder of their order, called the order of St Saviour, in the 14th century, and who was canonized by the Romish church.—*Am. Ed.*

yourself of having sought the blood of any." The pontiff, in the mean time, as soon as the eighty days were expired, collated Pole to the primacy, condemned Cranmer, and issued a commission for his degradation.

On the 14th of February, 1556, Bonner of London and Thirlby of Ely took their seats in the choir of Christ Church, Oxford, as papal commissioners. Cranmer was led in, and the commission was read, dwelling as usual on the papal impartiality, and stating what ample time had been given to the accused to proceed with his appeal and defence. "My lord," cried Cranmer, "what lies be these! that I, being continually in prison, and never suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should procure witness and appoint counsel at Rome. God must needs punish this open and shameless falsehood." When the commission was read, the various Romish vestments, made of canvass by way of insult, were produced, and he was arrayed in them: a mock mitre was placed on his head, and a mock crozier in his hand. The brutal Bonner then began to scoff at him. "This is the man," cried he, "that hath despised the pope, and is now to be judged by him! This is the man that hath pulled down so many churches, and is now come to be judged in a church! This is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament, and is now come to be condemned before that sacrament!" And so he ran on, though Thirlby kept pulling him by the sleeve to remind him of a promise he had made to treat the archbishop with respect. When they went to take the crozier from him, Cranmer held it fast, and drew from his sleeve an appeal to the next free general council. Thirlby, who was a man of gentle nature, and had been very intimate with the primate, shed floods of tears, declaring that he sat there against his will, and implored him to recant; but the vulgar-minded Bonner, on the other hand, could not conceal his exultation at the degradation of his metropolitan. "Now you are no longer my lord," said he; and he continued to speak of him as "this gentleman here."

Cranmer was now civilly degraded, and might be burned ; but his enemies would have him morally degraded also, and every engine was therefore set at work to induce him to recant. The dean of Christ Church visited him, and invited him to the deanery. He was there treated with the greatest courtesy, and was induced to play a match at his favourite game of bowls. The conversation, in which John de Villa Garcia, a Spanish friar, lately made professor of theology, bore a leading part, turned much on his condition and prospects. He was assured that the queen felt favourably towards him : " but then," it was added, " her majesty will have Cranmer a Catholic, or she will have no Cranmer at all." To these various temptations he at length yielded ; and he certainly was induced to make a recantation of some kind, but the matter is involved in great obscurity.

There are, in fact, not less than six different recantations preserved which Cranmer is said to have subscribed. Of these, the fifth alone contains an unequivocal assent to the doctrines of popery ; and it has been well asked, if he signed this, why require him to sign the last : a vague, inflated document, evidently the composition of Pole ? Most of these papers were, from the ambiguous terms employed in them (" Catholic church," for instance), such as might have been subscribed with some reserve of conscience ; but sure we are that Ridley and Latimer would never have put their hands to them. The love of life, it is not to be denied, led Cranmer into duplicity ; and we have his own assertion that he had written or signed papers containing " many things untrue."

Aware of his duplicity, or determined that nothing should save him, the government had already sent down the writ for his execution ; but his fate was kept concealed from him. On the day before he was to die, Dr. Cole, who was to preach at his death, visited him. " Have you continued," said he, " in the Catholic faith wherein I left you ?" " By God's grace," replied Cranmer, still dissembling, " I shall be daily more confirmed in the Catholic faith." Early next

morning, the 21st of March, Cole came again, and asked if he had any money. Being answered in the negative, he gave him fifteen crowns. He exhorted him to constancy in the faith; and Villa Garcia then came, and urged him to sign a seventh recantation, which he would be required to make in public. Cranmer wrote out two copies of it, one for himself and another for the friar; but he signed neither. Between nine and ten o'clock he was led forth to be burned, in the place where his friends had suffered; but, as the morning was wet, the sermon was to be preached in St. Mary's Church. He walked thither (now, it would seem, aware of his fate) between two friars, who mumbled psalms as they went; and, as they entered the church, they sang the *Nunc dimittis*, which must have assured him that his time was come. He was placed on a platform opposite the pulpit; "and when," says one who was present, "he had ascended it, he kneeled down and prayed, weeping tenderly, which moved a great number to tears, that had conceived an assured hope of his conversion and repentance." Cole then commenced his sermon, by assigning reasons why, in the present case, a heretic, though penitent, should be burned; and, when he had gone through with them, he added, "There are other reasons which have moved the queen and council to order the execution of the person here present; but which are not meet and convenient for every man's understanding." He then exhorted Cranmer, and assured him that masses and dirges should be chanted for the repose of his soul. He concluded by calling on all present to pray for the prisoner. All knelt. "I think," says the writer, "there was never such a number so earnestly praying together: for they that hated him before now loved him for his conversion and hope of continuance; and they that loved him before could not suddenly hate him, having hope of his confession again of his fall. So love and hope increased devotion on every side." Cole then called on Cranmer to perform his promise, and to make a profession of his faith, so that all might understand that

he was a Catholic indeed. "I will do it," said Cramer, "and that with a good-will."

He rose, put off his cap, and briefly addressed the people; then drawing from his sleeve a written prayer, repeated it aloud. Having concluded it, he knelt down and repeated the Lord's prayer, in which all joined, kneeling also. He then rose, and calmly and gravely addressed the people; exhorting them "not to set overmuch by the false glosing world, to obey the king and queen, to love one another like brethren and sistren, and to give unto the poor." He then declared his belief in the creed, and in all things taught in the Old and New Testaments. "And now," said he, "I am come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that I ever said or did in my life; and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth; which here now I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death, and to save my life if might be; and that is all such papers as I have written or signed since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue; and forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, my hand, when I come to the fire, shall first be burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine." At these words murmurs were heard. Lord Williams charged him with dissembling. "Alas! my lord," said he, "I have been a man that all my life loved plainness, and until this time never did I dissemble against the truth; I am most sorry for this my fault, but now is the time in which I must strip off all disguise." He would have spoken more, but Cole cried out, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away."

He was now hurried away to the stake. He stripped himself with haste and stood in his shirt; and when he took off his cap his head appeared quite bald, his beard was white and flowing. He again declared "that he repented his recantation right sore; whereupon the Lord Williams cried, 'Make short, make

short!" Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand, thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space before the fire came to any other part of his body, crying with a loud voice, 'This hand hath offended.'"* His sufferings were short, as the fire soon blazed fiercely; and his heart was found entire amid the ashes. "His patience in the torment," adds this writer, "his courage in dying, if it had been for the glory of God, the weal of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error, I could worthily have commended the example, and marked it with the fame of any father of ancient time. His death much grieved every man: his friends for love, his enemies for pity, strangers for a common kind of humanity, whereby we are bound to one another."†

Thus terminated the mortal career of Thomas Cranmer, a man possessed of every virtue but firmness. His talents were not of a high order, and the modesty of his temper made him defer too implicitly to the opinions of others; but we doubt if he ever, except in the matter of his recantation, acted against his conscience, though, as in the case of Joan Bocher, his conscience was not always well informed. His recantation we feel hardly inclined to regret, it afforded such occasion for the display of the dignity of virtue, and the ennobling influence of sincere repentance. "Let those," says a writer, whose beautiful reflections we love to quote,‡ "let those who require unbending virtue in the most tempestuous times condemn the amiable and faulty primate: others, who are not so certain of their own steadiness, will consider his fate as perhaps the most memorable example in history of a soul which, though debased, is

* Fox declares that Cranmer held his hand in the flames until it was actually burned from his arm; and that when it fell, there was a visible expression of satisfaction in his countenance, that the guilty instrument which had recorded his recantation was the first to perish.—*Am. Ed.*

† The extracts above are from the narrative of a Catholic who was present: it is given by Strype in his *Life of Cranmer*.

‡ Mackintosh, ii., 270, Harpers' edition.

not depraved by an act of weakness, and preserves an heroic courage after the forfeiture of honour, its natural spur, and, in general, its inseparable companion."

On the very day of Cranmer's martyrdom, Pole, who had now at length taken priest's orders, said his first mass; and the next day he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. Out of decorum, he had deferred the ceremony while Cranmer lived; and surely the same feeling might have induced him to defer it a little longer. Many people applied to him the words of the prophet to Ahab concerning Naboth: "Hast thou killed, and also taken possession?" Along with the primacy, Pole retained for some time the see of Winchester; and when, at length, he gave it up to White, he made him covenant to pay him £1000 annually out of it. Money is said to have been employed at Rome to have this contract, which savoured of simony, allowed. The queen also gave him several estates belonging to the crown. The following year, however, the vindictive pontiff, who was Pole's personal enemy, revoked his legatine commission, and proposed transferring it to old Friar Peto, who was now the queen's confessor, and whom he made a cardinal for the purpose; but Mary firmly supported Pole. The pope's messenger, with the hat and letters, was stopped at Calais, and the course of public events at this time impeded all farther proceedings.

Philip, who was now at war with France, was anxious to obtain the aid of England, and for this purpose he came over in March, 1557. He assured the queen that it would be his last visit if he were refused. Mary was, of course, most desirous of gratifying him; but Pole and other members of the council were decidedly opposed to engaging England in a war for Spanish interests. Fortunately for Philip, just at this time Thomas Stafford, grandson to the last Duke of Buckingham, sailed with a small force from Dieppe, landed, seized the old castle of Scarborough, and put forth a proclamation, stating that he was come to deliver the nation from its present thralldom to the Spaniards. But no one joined him; and he was obliged to

surrender on the fourth day, April 28th, to the Earl of Westmoreland. He was brought up to London and beheaded, after being made to confess that the King of France had aided and encouraged him in his enterprise. The resistance of the council, whom the queen had in vain menaced even with a dismissal, was now overcome, and war was declared against France.

The queen, who, two years before, had had recourse to sundry unjust and violent modes of raising money, put some of them now again in practice, especially that of privy seals: that is, letters addressed to persons of substance, requiring them to lend the sums specified in them to the crown. To victual a fleet, she seized all the corn that could be come at in Norfolk and Suffolk; and having, by the aid of impressment, raised an army of ten thousand men, she sent it, under the Earl of Pembroke, to join that of Philip in the Low Countries. In order to secure herself against disturbances at home, she put into the Tower such of the gentry as she most suspected, and who were taken thither either by night or muffled up, that they might not be recognised.

The Spanish army, when joined by the English auxiliaries, numbered forty thousand men; and the Duke of Savoy, who commanded it, laid siege to the town of St. Quintin. The Constable Montmorency advanced to its relief; but, failing in his attempts to throw succour into the town, on the 10th of August he was attacked in his retreat by the besieging army, and defeated, with a loss of three thousand men. The English fleet, in the mean time, made descents on various parts of the coast of France. The French, however, soon had ample revenge on the English queen for her share in the war. The Duke of Guise, who had been recalled from Italy, resolved to attempt a plan which had been suggested by the Admiral Coligni for surprising Calais. In the month of December he assembled at Compeigne an army of twenty-five thousand men, with a large battering train; and, while it was expected that he would attempt the re-

covery of St. Quintin, he suddenly marched for Calais, and on Newyear's Day, 1558, he was seen approaching that town. Calais was surrounded by marshes, impassable during the winter except by a dike defended by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnambridge. The French carried the former by a vigorous assault; the latter also was soon obliged to surrender; and the same fate attended another castle, named the Risbank, which guarded the entrance of the harbour. Batteries were now opened on the town and citadel; and, on the 7th of January, the governor, Lord Wentworth, was obliged to capitulate. Guisnes also surrendered shortly after; and thus, after a possession of two hundred years, was lost the only remaining acquisition of Edward III. The loss was, in truth, a real benefit to England; but neither the queen nor the people viewed it in that light. It was regarded as a stain on the national character, and it augmented the already great unpopularity of Mary. She was herself so affected, that, while on her deathbed, she said to her attendants, "When I am dead and opened, ye shall find Calais lying in my heart."

Parliament, when assembled on the 20th of January, made a liberal grant. A fleet was equipped, and sent to make an attempt on the port of Brest in Brittany; but it failed to achieve its object. A small squadron of ten English ships, however, lent such valuable aid to Count Egmont, in his attack at Gravelines on a French force which had invaded Flanders, as enabled him to give it a total overthrow.

The inauspicious reign of Mary was now drawing to its close. She was suffering under disease; she felt that she had lost the affections of even that portion of her people who agreed with her in religious sentiments, by her subserviency to the Spanish councils, and by her arbitrary taxation; while her cruelties had drawn on her the well-merited hatred of the Protestants. She had also the mournful conviction that she had exercised cruelty to little purpose, as the heresy had been hardly checked by it; and she

knew that her successor, however she might now dissemble, secretly held the Reformed doctrines, and would probably re-establish them. Finally, her husband, for whom she had forfeited the affection of her subjects, and for whom she felt such extravagant fondness, was neglectful, if not unkind. Her mind is also said to have been kept in a constant ferment through the paper war that was carried on against herself and her religion by the exiles at Geneva.

While such was the state of her mind and body, she was attacked by the epidemic fever then prevalent; and, after languishing for three months, she breathed her last on the 17th of November, during the performance of mass in her chamber, in the forty-third year of her age. Cardinal Pole, who was ill of the same fever, died the following day.

These two exalted personages are striking examples of the evil influence of bigotry and superstition on the mind and heart. Mary was not devoid of virtuous dispositions or of mental endowments. On more than one occasion she had exhibited great energy of character. She was constant and sincere in friendship, devout and charitable, and naturally not unjust.* But, unhappily, her religious opinions were gloomy and superstitious, and taught her that the offering of holocausts of those who dared to use the noblest faculties which the Deity had given them was an acceptable service to a God of mercy, and that promises made to such persons were not to be observed. Hence her character will evermore remain in history as that of a cruel, sanguinary bigot. Apart, however, from religion, the death of the innocent and amiable Jane Grey will always prove that the nature of Mary was harsh and unrelenting.

* In 1557, Lord Stourton, a zealous Catholic, seized two gentlemen named Hargil, father and son, with whom he was at variance, and, with the aid of his servants, put them privately to death in his own house, and buried them in a pit fifteen feet deep. The murder, however, came to light, and he and four of his servants were found guilty. All the interest made with the queen to save him was of no avail: she would only grant him the favour to be hung with a silken rope.

The cardinal was a man of letters, polished in manners, and not without virtuous intentions; generous, humane, and, to a certain extent, liberal in feeling: yet his false religious views and feelings made him a traitor to his sovereign and benefactor, a scurrilous libeller, and a persecutor even unto death of those who dissented from his creed: for, though it may be true that he did not urge on persecution, he always assented to it; and, not a week before his death, five persons (the last of the victims whom his certificate had given over to the secular arm) were burned in his diocese.

With the deaths of Mary, Pole, and Gardiner ended for ever the dominion of papacy in England. The cruelties perpetrated by them were even of advantage to the Reformed faith. The English nation is averse to cruelty; and the sight of the constancy, and even exultation, with which the martyrs met their fate, while it caused pity and admiration for the sufferers, naturally inspired favour towards the religion which enabled men to die thus cheerfully; and, at the same time, raised doubts as to the truth of a system which required the aid of the stake and fagot. Hence many who had been Catholics at the commencement of Mary's reign, were Protestants at its close; and hence her successor found so little difficulty in establishing the Reformed faith. The number who perished in the flames during the four years of persecution was little short of three hundred,* of whom more than a sixth were women, and some were children, and even babes.† There were five prelates and twenty-one of the other clergy among the victims. We find also eight gentlemen noticed; but none of the nobles or knights who had obtained the spoil of the abbeys.

* Speed, 274; Burnet, 284; Collins, 290. Lord Burleigh (Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*, chap. lxiv.) states the number who perished in this reign by imprisonments, torments, famine, and fire, at 400, of whom 290 were burned.

† Lord Burleigh says that there were more than 60 women and 40 children among the sufferers.

APPENDIX.

A, page 10.

ADDRESSES OF THE INSURGENTS.

THE leaders of the insurgents adopted the practice usual in such cases of giving themselves fictitious names. Such were Jack Straw, Jack Mylner (Miller), Jack Carter, Jack Trueman, &c., under which names they put forth addresses such as the following (Knighton *ap.* Twisden, p. 2634) :

"Jakke Mylner asket help to turne his mylne [mill] aright. He hath grounden smal smal; the king's sone of heven he scal pay for alle. Loke thy mylne go aryght with the foure sayles and the post stand in steadfastnesse. With ryght and with myght, with skyl and with wylle, let myght help ryght, and skyl go before wylle and ryght before myght, then goth oure mylne aryght. And if myght go before ryght, and wylle before skylle, then is our mylne mys a dyght [dight amiss]."

"Jakke Carter preys yowe alle that ye make a gode ende of that ye have begunnen, and doth wole and ave bettur and bettur, for al the even men heryth the day. For if the ende be wele then is alle wele. Lat Peres [Piers] the Plowman my brother dwelle at home and dyght us corne, and I will go with yowe and help that y may to dyght youre mete and youre drynke that ye now fayle. Lokke that Hobbe robbyoure be wele chastysed for lesing of youre grace, for ye have gret nede to take God with yowe in alle youre dedes; for nowe is tyme to be war [ware]."

The following is one of Ball's addresses :

"John Balle Seynte Marye prist greteth wele alle maner men, and byddes hem in the name of the Trinite, Fadur and Sone and Holy Gost, stond manlycke togedyr in trewth, and helpeth trewth and trewth schal helpe yowe. Now regneth pride in pris, and covetise is holde wys; and lecherye with outen shame, and glotonye with outen blame; Envye regneth with tresone, and slouthe is take in grete sesone. God do bote, for now is tyme. Amen."

B, page 37.

RICHARD II.

Mr. Tytler (History of Scotland, iii.) has revived an old story in Fordun and Wintoun of Richard II. having escaped from prison and being maintained for twenty years at the court of Scotland. There is no doubt that a person who pretended to be, or, rather,

was made to personate that monarch, was countenanced there (as Warbeck was afterward), and probably with a view to annoy Henry, whose seizure of Prince James may perhaps thus be best explained.

Sir James Mackintosh (History of England, i., 228, Harpers' edition) has briefly, but, we think, completely confuted Mr. Tytler. See also Mr. Amyot's Dissertations on this subject in the *Archæologia*, vols. xxiii. and xxv.

C, page 108.

MURDER OF THE PRINCES BY RICHARD III.

It is well known that the truth of this account of the murder of the princes has been questioned by Buck, Carte, Walpole, and Laing. Their arguments have, we think, been amply confuted by Hume and Lingard. We will here notice the principal ones, and the replies to them; first stating the evidence for the murder.

The historian of Croyland, who wrote in 1486, the year after Richard's death, says that when Buckingham and the others had entered into a confederacy to release the princes, "*vulgatum est dictos Edwardi filios, quo genere violenti interitus ignoratur, decessisse in fata*" (it is commonly reported that the reputed sons of Edward were cut off by a violent death, the manner of which was unknown). He also says that their cause had been avenged in the battle of Bosworth; and that Richard, not content with obtaining his brother's treasures, destroyed his offspring (*oppressit proles*). This writer could not then have doubted of the murder. Rouse, who died in 1491, says that Richard imprisoned Edward and his brother closely, and within little more than two months killed them, but so secretly that "*post paucissimis notum fuit qua morte martyrizati sunt*" (it was known by very few by what death they suffered). André, the historiographer of Henry VII., says, "*ferro ferri jussit*" (to be despatched with the sword). More, in 1513, gave the narrative in the text from the confession of the assassins.

Buckingham and his friends must have been certain of the death of the princes, or they would never have offered the crown to Henry on condition of his marrying Elizabeth; and what reason could Richard himself have for wishing to marry her if she were not now the representative of her father?

In the year 1674, a chest containing bones, answering in size to those of the two princes, were found by the workmen who were taking away the staircase leading from the king's lodging to the Tower chapel. It was ten feet under ground.

Against all this it is alleged, that, for many years after, it was doubted if they were dead. "Some remain yet in doubt," says More, "whether they were in Richard's days destroyed or not." "*In vulgus fama valeret,*" says Polydore Virgil, "*filios Edwardi regis aliquo terrarum secreto migrasse atque ibi superstites esse*" (a report prevailed among the common people, that the sons of

King Edward had retired to some place of concealment, where they were still alive). Bacon also mentions the "rumours and whisperings" of one of them at least being alive. The wonder, however, to any one versed in history, and who recollects the stories of Richard II., of Don Sebastian, and others, would be if such reports did *not* prevail.

Walpole endeavours to show, from the rolls of parliament, that Edward V. was living in 1484, and that, therefore, the tale of his being put to death during Richard's progress in 1483 cannot be true; but Lingard observes, that what he quotes is from the petition presented at Baynard's castle, and only proves what was never doubted, that Edward was then alive.

But the grand argument is this: There are in Rymer two instruments, dated August 31, "*teste rege apud Wesmonasterium.*" Richard therefore was in London on that day, and we know that he was crowned at York on September 8th; there was no time, then, for the passage of all the messengers to and from London, and the whole story in the text is a fiction. Lingard, however, shows that this only proves that the chancellor was at Westminster. He gives as an instance: there are thirty-three writs of Edward V. *teste rege* at Westminster April 23d, yet we know that he did not reach London till May 4th, and did not go to Westminster at all.

D, page 111.

LETTER OF ELIZABETH.

The original letter from Elizabeth to the Duke of Norfolk, we believe, no longer exists; but Buck, who saw it in the cabinet of the Earl of Arundel, states that in it she desired the duke "to be a mediator for her to the king in the behalf of the marriage propounded between them, who was her only joy and maker in this world, and that she was his in heart and thought, withal insinuating that the better part of February was past, and that she feared the queen would never die."

E, page 141.

PERKIN WARBECK.

The advocates of Perkin Warbeck say that, 1. He was acknowledged by the kings of France and Scotland, and the Duchess of Burgundy; 2. Henry never confronted him with the queen, her mother and sisters; 3. His accent was perfectly English; 4. He was like the Duke of York; 5. Henry never inquired into the circumstances of the murder of the princes.

To all this it is replied that, 1. The King of France acted from political motives, so most probably did the King of Scotland; the object of the Duchess of Burgundy, who had already favoured *Sinnel*, probably was to overthrow Henry, and establish the claims of her nephew Warwick. 2. See above, p. 140. The royal

ladies had abundant opportunities of seeing him. 3 and 4 are mere assertions, without any proofs being offered. It is probable that Henry considered the fact of the death of the princes too well established to require any proof: or himself, as a Lancastrian, not called on to punish the domestic crimes of the house of York.

Finally, few but those who were outlaws adhered to Warbeck; and no gentleman ever joined him in his various invasions of England. That Henry would never have left him at liberty if he thought him in the slightest degree dangerous, is proved by his very different treatment of the Earl of Warwick.*

F, page 168.

AUTHORITIES for the remainder of the reign of Henry VIII., the reigns of Edward VI., of Mary, Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.

Rymer's *Fœdera*, the Journals of the two Houses of Parliament, the Parliamentary History, the Statutes, the State Trials, the Hardwicke Papers, and Ellis's Original Letters, are general authorities for the period contained in the present volume.

The authorities for particular portions of it are as follows:

Burnet's History of the Reformation, and Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, and his Lives of Cranmer and his successors, extended through the reigns of Henry VIII. and his children. The chroniclers Halle, Speed, Stow, Grafton, and Holingshed, narrate the events of these reigns, which are also related by Bishop Godwin. Lord Herbert of Cherbury has written the history of the reign of Henry VIII., Hayward that of Edward VI., and Camden that of Elizabeth.

The various collections of the letters of princes, ministers, noblemen, and others, preserved in public or private archives, furnish valuable materials for the history of the Tudor princes. Such are the State Papers (now in course of publication), the Sidney Papers, and the various collections of the Burghley and other Papers, edited by Murdin, Haynes, Lodge, Digges, and others. The Scottish and Continental historians, and the despatches of the foreign ambassadors also supply materials.†

* Warbeck was certainly a very different person from Simnel, and evinced by his actions that he possessed no inconsiderable energy and genius. As to the validity of his pretensions, historians are much divided in opinion. Tytler says that "Carte, in his history of England, was the first who ventured to express his doubts in regard to the common notion of Warbeck's being an impostor; and other reasons have been added by Guthrie, which strongly countenance the supposition, that this young man was really the Duke of York. Horace Walpole, in his *Historic Doubts on the reign of Richard III.*, has taken up the same side of the question," &c. Still the better received opinion seems to be, that Warbeck was an impostor.—See Tytler's *Universal History*, iv., 170, *Harpers' Family Library*.—*Am. Ed.*

† These commence with those of the Bishop of Bayonne in the reign of Henry VIII. A portion of those of La Mothe Fenelon have been lately published by Mr. Charles Purton Cooper, who announces his intention of publishing all those of the French ambassadors during the 16th century.

The reign of James I. has been written by Wilson, and the Memorials of Secretary Winwood contain much important matter; Weldon and Osborne furnish many particulars; Lord Bacon is also an authority. The lately published Diary of Bishop Goodman notices the events of this and the preceding reign. Coke's Detection extends to the Revolution.

The events of the important reign of Charles I. are to be found in Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and the Clarendon State Papers; Whitelock's Memorials, Rushworth's, Nalson's, Scobel's, Husband's, and Thurloe's Collections; the Strafford and Sidney Papers, May's History of the Parliament, Dugdale's Short View, Hobbes's Behemoth, Baillie's Letters, Ludlow's Memoirs, the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, the narratives of Berkeley, Ashburnham, Fairfax, Herbert, and others; Leicester's Journal, Slingsby's Diary, Baxter's Life and Times, Neal's History of the Puritans, Mede's Letters, Hacket's Life of Williams, and Heylin's Life of Laud, and this last prelate's Life and Troubles; Carte's Life of Ormond, &c., &c.

The histories of Rapin, Carte, Echard, Oldmixon, and Kennet, though not written till the eighteenth century, are also authorities for these times, as the writers of them had sometimes the means of acquiring information which no longer exist. New sources for the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are, however, springing up every day, by the publication of letters and documents contained in the State Paper Office, the British Museum, and other public repositories, and in the libraries of private families.

G, page 173.

QUEEN CATHARINE.

"Catharine," says Sanders, "used to rise at midnight, to join in the nocturnal prayers of the religious. She dressed herself as quickly as possible at five in the morning, saying frequently that she lost no time but only this in which she attired herself. She wore under her royal dress the habit of St Francis, to whose third order she had ascribed herself (*sese ascripserat*). She fasted every Friday and Saturday; on all the vigils of the blessed Mary she lived on nothing but bread and water. On Wednesdays and Fridays she confessed her sins to a priest. She also received the Eucharist on Sundays; she recited daily the Office of the Blessed Virgin; she spent six hours of the morning in the church engaged in holy offices. From dinner-time, for about two hours, she read the lives of the saints, her maids standing by; then going back to the church, she remained there till about the time of supper, which she took most sparingly. She always prayed on her bended knees, without a cushion or anything else between her and the pavement. Who now can wonder," asks this writer, "that so holy a woman was to be tried by some greater fire of tribulation, that the odour of her virtues might be more easily diffused through the whole Christian world?"

H, page 200.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Of the superstition of this eminent man the following proofs occur :

Erasmus notices his tendency that way. He always wore a hair shirt next his skin, and "he used sometimes," says Roper, "to punish his body with whips, the cords knotted. When he was chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk coming one day to dine with him at Chelsea, found him at church with a surplice on him, singing in the quire. "My lord chancellor," cried the duke, "a parish clerk, a parish clerk—you dishonour the king and his office." "Nay," replied he, "your grace may not think that the king your master and mine will with me, for serving of God his master, be offended, or thereby count his office dishonoured." It was a matter of the greatest comfort that he was to die on the eve of St. Thomas à Becket, his patron saint. "I comber you, good Margaret, much," writes he to his daughter, "but I would be sorry if it should be any longer than to-morrow. For it is St. Thomas's even, and the Utas (Octave) of St. Peter; and therefore to-morrow long I to go to God. It were a day very meet and convenient for me."

I, page 205.

ANNE BOLEYN'S LETTER TO THE KING.

The MS. from which this copy is taken was partly destroyed by fire in 1731. The parts supplied are in italics.

SIR,

Your grace's displeasure and my imprisonment are things soe *strange* unto me, as what to wrighte or what to excuse I am altogether ignorant. Wheras you send unto me (willing me to confesse a truth, and soe to obteyne your favour) by such an whome you know *to* be mine antient professed enemy, I noe sooner received this message by him than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as *you say*, confessing a truth indeed may procure my saftie, I shall vse all willingnesse and dutie to perform your command. But let not your grace *ever* imagine that your poore wife will ever be brought to *acknowledge* a fault, where not *soe* much as a thought ever proceeded. *And to speak* a truth, never a prince had wife more loyall *in all duty, and in all true affection*, than you have ever found *in Anne Bolen*, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had soe bene pleased. *Neither* did I at any tyme soe farre forgett myselfe *in my exaltation* or receaved queenshipp, but that I alwayes looked for such an alteration as now I finde; for the ground of my preferment being on noe surer foundation than your grace's fancye, the least alteration was fitt and sufficient (I knowe) to draw that fancye to some other subjecte. You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queene and companion farre beyond my desert

or desire; if then you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace, let not any light fancye or bade counsell of my enemies withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stayne, that unworthy stayne of a disloyall heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foule a blott on your most dutifull wife, and the infant princesse your daughter. Trye me, goode king, but let me have a lawfull tryall; and let not my sworne enemyes sit as my accusers and judges; yee, let me receave an open tryall, for my truth shall fear noe open shames. Then shall you see either mine innocencye cleered, your suspition and conscience satisfied, the ignominye and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. Soe that whatsoever God or you may determine of, your grace may be freed from an open censure, and mine offence being soe lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaythfull wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that partie, for whose sake I am now as I am; whose name I could, some good while since, have pointed unto your grace, being not ignorant of my suspition therein.

But, if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the joying of your desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sinne herein, and likewise my enemyes the instruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a straight accompt for your unprincely and cruell usage of me at his generall judgement-seat, where both you and my selfe must shortly appeare, and in whose just judgement I doubt not, whatsoever the worlde may think of me, mine innocencye shall be openly knowene and sufficiently cleared. My last and only request shall be, that my selfe may only bear the burthen of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, whome, as I understand, are likewise in straight imprisonment for my sake. If I ever have founde favoure in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Bulen have ben pleasing in your eares, then let me obtain this request; and soe I will leave to trouble your grace any farther. With mine earnest prayer to the Trinitie to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions, from my dolefull prison in the Tower, the 6th of Maye.

Your most loyall and ever faithfull wife,

ANNE BULEN.

The Lady
to the kinge he
of the Towe

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